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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

No. 2.] [DECEMBER, 1901.

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The Congregational Historical Society.

Meeting in Roby Schools, Manchester.

A meeting of the Congregational Historical Society was held on Tuesday, Oct. 15, in Roby Schools, Piccadilly, Manchester. J. D. McClure, Esq., M.A., LL.D., the President, was in the chair, and there was a large attendance of members and the general public.

The CHAIRMAN in the course of his opening remarks said: May I very respectfully and yet very earnestly urge upon all here present to do their utmost for this Society? I feel quite certain that if it is to succeed it can only be by personal, by individual effort. We appeal in vain to a large body like the Congregational Union or the churches of the Congregational Union, and it is only here and there that people respond to what may be called a general invitation; but during the past few months in many directions we have had indications of sympathy and of co-operation, and I feel sure that the work we are attempting to do needs only to be known to secure the assistance of many who hitherto have, from ignorance or other causes, held aloof from us. . . . We are Congregationalists, not by virtue of the little to which we bind ourselves, but by reason of the very great treasure which we are enabled to appropriate. We are denominational because we believe the more we know, and the greater interest that we take in our denomination and its history, the more wide and liberal we shall be in our sympathies and the more effective we shall be in our work in the world. That is the spirit in which I have associated myself with this Society, and I believe it is the spirit in which most members have associated themselves with it; and I trust that by our co-operation in what is purely a great work, and a work which very much requires to be done, we may seek, not to lay the churches under obligation—I doubt if they would feel it—but rather to lay ourselves under a great obligation which we should endeavour honestly to fulfil. If the future is to be more glorious than the past it is only in so far as we understand the past and try to draw from it those lessons which we hope will make the future what we desire it to be.

The HONORARY SECRETARY then announced that an invitation had been received from the University of Yale, U.S.A., to

send a delegate on the occasion of its bicentenary celebrations. As this was found impossible it was agreed that a cablegram of congratulations be sent from the meeting, and that the Secretary be instructed to write a letter conveying the thanks of the Society to the University, and heartiest wishes for its continued and increasing prosperity.

The Rev. HENRY SHAW, (Urmston), then read a paper which is printed in full on pages 61-78. In the discussion that followed The Revs. T. GASCOIGNE, Dr. JOHN BROWN, and others, took part. The latter referred to the byways of the old squires' papers in which he thought might be found something that was not just as dry as dust, but very interesting in connection with our churches. As to Lancashire, there were Lord Kenyon's papers, which appeared two or three years ago. Lord Kenyon was a descendant of Roger Kenyon. Roger Kenyon married a descendant of Alexander Rigby, who was Clerk of the Peace of this county, and she brought all the papers to Roger Kenyon, who passed them on to the family, and among them is a list of all the clergy who conformed at the time of the great revolution, and what is a more interesting matter still, the list of all the places in 1689 that were registered and recorded for Nonconformist worship.

The Rev. J. PHILLIPS, (Haverfordwest), asked : Have we complete registers of those men who were licensed under the Commonwealth ? Have we anything like a complete register ? I found a fragment of a paper once, containing a list of men in 1651 who were said to be either registered or licensed, I don't remember exactly which. 1649 or 1651.

Dr. BROWN, in reply, said : It would be a novelty to me to know there were any licences under the Commonwealth. The mode was for anyone to act as minister provided the patron of the living authorised him. There was no authorised procedure until the Bill of 1653. Then there were no Church Courts and no organised Church government, but if a man were certified to be fit to preach, whether he was a Presbyterian or Baptist or Congregationalist, he was inducted in the living. But there were also free Churches, and I don't think the Government took any cognizance of them ; I don't think they were registered in any way. The first license was in 1672. The local presbyteries, as the Chairman tells me, may have done it, and that is a very possible thing, but I don't think the Government did.

Congregationalism in Manchester: its beginnings and development.

THE first historical notice of the association of Manchester with the principles of Church government represented by Congregationalism goes back more than three hundred years to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The Church of England, not too securely rooted in the reverence and affection of the people, was assailed, on the one hand, by the adherents of "the older faith," *i.e.*, by the Roman Catholics who attacked not only the Church but the secular authority which established and supported it, and, on the other hand, by the Separatists, who demanded that, as they were loyal to the State and faithful subjects of the Queen, they should be allowed to worship God according to the sanctions of their conscience. To both the Bishops, with sublime impartiality, gave the same answer, viz., fines, imprisonment, and the scaffold.

That easy and ecclesiastical method of settling a controversy and silencing an opponent was not remarkable for its success so far as the Separatists were concerned. The controversy grew keener, and its fire was fanned into a fiercer blaze by the scattering broadcast of the writings of the now famous "Martin Marprelate." The tracts of that unknown writer, who followed the example of Erasmus in using satire and ridicule as lawful and effective weapons of controversy, were printed secretly: and, for the sake of greater security, the printing establishment was moved

from one place to another. From Kingston it was taken to Northamptonshire, and from Northamptonshire it was brought to Manchester, where, in a house in Newton Lane, now Oldham Road, it found refuge for a time. Unfortunately it was discovered by the officers of Henry—"the good Earl of Derby"—and the press was seized, along with the printers and a number of sheets, printed on one side, of the tract called "More Work for the Cooper."

That early association of the Separatists with Manchester may reasonably be regarded as shewing that in those days "Martin" had friends in the district, who were in sympathy with his teaching, and who, if opportunity had been allowed them, might have formed themselves into a Church of Christ on Separatist or Congregational principles.

The next historical notice of Congregationalism in Manchester is associated with the name of the Rev. John Wigan—a man who in his time played many parts. In 1642 he was the minister of the Presbyterian chapel at Gorton, where he advocated unreservedly Congregational principles. Four years later he became the minister of the chapel at Birch, where "he set up the Congregational way": and in 1649 he purchased the Chetham College and the lands pertaining thereto, and, according to Adam Martindale, "made a barn into a chapel where he and many of his persuasion preached doctrines diametrically opposed to the ministers under their very nose." A few years later he became a major in the Parliamentary army, and, as a Congregational minister, along with the church he formed, disappeared from the page of history.

Shortly afterwards the Rev. Henry Newcome came to Manchester, to whom belongs the honour of establishing Congregationalism in this city. He

was a man of great gifts, devout, scholarly, singularly gentle, trustful, loveable, with a heart always open to the skies, yet, withal, a man of strong will, steadfast and immoveable in the cause of truth and righteousness. In his guilelessness and simplicity, his manfulness and noble fortitude, he might have been the prototype of that Thomas Newcome, his brave, loving, and unselfish namesake, in the unfolding of whose career and character the genius of Thackeray reached its loftiest height.

He was ordained at Sandbach in 1648, and, after having had charge for a few weeks of the chapel of Alvanley, was appointed to the living of Goostrey, where, he says, "it pleased God I had the unanimous consent of the chapelry." After a ministry of a year and a half at Goostrey he became the rector of Gawsworth, a parish a few miles away. Until he had signed the "Engagement," however, his induction was only provisional; and the acceptance of that document occasioned him great trouble and anxiety. It was only after prolonged consideration that he saw his way to sign it. On Christmas Day, 1650, he gave the required subscription at Chester, and promised to be a "true and faithful servant of the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or House of Lords." That subscription was "long on his heart as one of his great transgressions," and he never recalled its memory without feelings of reproach and shame. A few years later he made ample atonement for that act of weakness, and when, in 1662, he had to choose between subscription to the articles of the Church and ejection from its ministry, he followed the leading of his conscience with his eyes wide open to all of suffering and hardship it involved.

In May, 1655, he preached in the Collegiate

Church, Manchester, and his sermons so impressed the congregation that, on the death of the Rev. Richard Hollingworth, one of the Fellows, in November he received a letter, signed by several of the most influential members, asking if he were free to accept an invitation to succeed Mr. Hollingworth. Two days later a meeting of the congregation was held, and a unanimous decision arrived at to invite him to Manchester.

Mr. Newcome accepted the invitation, and began his ministry in Manchester in April, 1657. He became at once a recognized leader in the activities of the town, and bore his great popularity with such modesty and simplicity that even the Warden—the Rev. Richard Heyricke—a high-minded man, though of imperious temper and provoking selfwill, worked amicably with him.

The accession of Charles II in 1660 was, however, the beginning of sorrows to Mr. Newcome, ardent Royalist though he was. The old ecclesiastical order was instantly restored; the fellowships of the College were filled by others, and Mr. Newcome was "deprived of maintenance." But the people held him in such honour and affection that the Fellows were compelled to make arrangements with him. He accepted the arrangement and the miserable pittance they allowed him. Referring to that time he says "The Fellows oft expressed their disgust of me behind my back, and professedly said I should not preach unless I would conform. Yet the Lord kept me on in His work for this year and a quarter. As long as I could have preached anywhere He protected me to preach to my own people."

But the passing of the Act of Uniformity deprived him of that privilege. That Act, which many, doubtless, accepted conscientiously, fell upon the churches of England like the light of

judgement, sending each to his own place. On the one side, in comfort and security, it placed the faithless and unworthy, and on the other, in pain, peril and uncertainty, those who were the very life-blood of the faith of England—men whose integrity no trial could shatter, and whose honour no temptation could degrade. Of the two chief leaders of the religious life of Manchester, Richard Heyricke, the Warden, and Henry Newcome the preacher, the former conformed, though with sorrow and reluctance. But from that day his iron spirit seemed to be broken, and the strong and selfwilled man, who had been a leader in the movements of the town, moved quietly about, an unnoticed item in its life. The character of his friend, however, never shone with brighter lustre than in that time of darkness and trial. He accepted the alternative of suffering and poverty, preferring to keep his conscience clear and his faith without reproach, rather than to occupy by any sacrifice of principle the position of reward and honour his abilities would speedily have secured.

The Act of Uniformity became law in May, 1662, and, by a malignant purpose, was made to take effect on August 24—the day of St. Bartholomew—the anniversary of the revolting massacre of the Protestants in France ninety years before. On the morning of that memorable Sunday, August 24, Mr. Newcome preached in the Collegiate Church from the words—"In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee." It was his last sermon in the church to which he had been called with enthusiasm a few short years before, and it closed for ever his ministry in the Church of England.

Then began the years of his privation. In 1664 the Conventicle Act became law; and fines, imprisonment, banishment to the steaming planta-

tions of the West Indies, were the rewards of those who met for worship except according to the rites of the Church of England. But the Act, though it crippled the Nonconformists, failed to accomplish utterly its infamous end. Within a year, therefore, it was followed by the Five Mile Act, whose provisions, it was believed, would extinguish the last vestiges of religious liberty, and make it impossible for a Nonconformist clergyman to exist. It imposed a new oath upon him, and those who refused to take the oath were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to approach, except on a journey, within five miles of any corporate town, or within five miles of any place where they had formerly ministered. Under its shameless sanction the Nonconformist minister might be arrested and imprisoned for visiting his children in their homes, or his friends in the time of their distress and bereavement. Where the Conventicle Act failed the Five Mile Act was intended to succeed! Mr. Newcome was compelled to leave Manchester, and for a time found a refuge at Ellenbrook, with a "trusty disciple," Thomas Topping.

In 1687 the shadow which had rested upon Nonconformists for so many years was uplifted. James II., asserting his "dispensing power" over the authority of Parliament, issued, for sinister reasons, a "Declaration of Indulgence," which enabled the despoiled ministers to meet their congregations, and to join again in the service of the House of God. Mr. Newcome and his friends obtained possession of a vacant house, and on April 20th, 1687, to his "great satisfaction and rejoicing," he preached with "open doors." Soon after they had to enlarge their borders, and on June 12th they hired Thomas Stockton's barn in the Shude Hill Fields, where many of the chief families of the town united with them.

After the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, in the reign of William and Mary, had made the position of Nonconformists more secure, the congregation expressed their desire to erect a sanctuary in which they might more conveniently worship. But the strain of years, and the heavier strain of many anxieties, had told upon their minister, and he shrank from the additional demand upon his strength which an attempt to realize their desire would have imposed upon him. A few years later the desire was expressed again, and so urgently that Mr. Newcome yielded to it. On June 20th, 1693, "part of a parcel of land, commonly called Plungeon's Meadow," was purchased, and on it was built the "great and fair meeting-house," now known as Cross Street Chapel. It was opened on June 24th, 1694, by a sermon by Mr. Newcome on the words "Holiness to the Lord." So, in the words of the old and beautiful song, the Lord had turned again the captivity of Zion, and done great things for them, whereof they were glad; and had fulfilled also the prophecy with which that sweet song of Israel ends, that "he that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

The new sanctuary was no stately and imposing structure, but a plain, square, and homely building, suggestive of the splendours of Gothic architecture only in the sense that the grim and sober Roundhead is suggestive of the gay and dashing Cavalier. Yet, though it was not rich in architectural attractions, it was rich in history, and in the faith and sacrifice it symbolized. It sprang out of fearless loyalty to conscience and fidelity to Jesus Christ: for the men who built it had proved their sincerity by their sufferings, and were ready, if required, to have proved it by their death. That

unadorned and simple meeting-house, part of whose walls is still standing, is more eloquent with meaning than many a decorated and stately temple in whose erection there is represented neither sacrifice nor pain.

But Mr. Newcome's work was well nigh done. Though he preached the first sermon in the new House of God, it was not often that his voice was afterwards heard therein. A year after the opening of it he met his friends for the last time, and, in reference to the duty of that Sabbath day there is the brief and pathetic notice in his diary, "short yet tired." On September 17th, 1695, his pilgrimage quietly reached its end, and the brave and gentle spirit which had borne such faithful witness for the Master, and so nobly the discipline of the years, passed into the light, and stood in the presence of its God. He was laid to rest, where he desired to be, within the precincts of the church he had built, "in the west aisle not far from the pulpit," and on his tomb were inscribed the words—"Here resteth the body of Henry Newcome, A.M., minister of the gospel in Manchester 38 years. Buried September 20th, 1695. Aged 68 years."

Though Henry Newcome and his friends were Presbyterian in Church polity they were driven by force of circumstances to adopt the Congregational idea. The Presbyterianism of the days of the Commonwealth vanished with the Commonwealth. The last meeting of the Manchester *classis* was held on August 14th, 1660, at which meeting it was resolved to meet again "on the second Tuesday in September next." That second Tuesday came but there was no meeting of the class. The old Presbyterianism in Manchester, as in all England, was in its death-throes. Thirty years later, the churches built by men who had been Presbyterians in their youth represented the Congregational

rather than the Presbyterian idea. The "great and fair meeting-house," erected by Henry Newcome and his friends, was no exception to the rule. Independents and Presbyterians assembled therein for worship, the bitterness of past controversies softened by the healing touch of time, and a truer understanding of each other's thoughts and ways. The name Presbyterian was retained, but nearly all that it represented in church government had disappeared.

Passing over the history of the Cross Street meeting-house for fifty years, we come to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Rev. Joseph Mottershead was the minister of it, with the Rev. John Seddon, M.A., as his assistant. At that time the Presbyterian and Independent churches were passing through a crisis in their theological belief. The Calvinistic conception of the truths of faith, which had exerted so mighty an influence in the previous century, was rapidly losing its authority. The members of the meeting-house did not escape the disturbing influence of the time. Before Mr. Seddon's advent amongst them many must have felt that the doctrines of Calvin were becoming more and more intolerable; under his teaching they rejected them altogether, and boldly adopted the Unitarian view of Jesus Christ and His work. But there were others who stood resolutely in the doctrines accepted by Henry Newcome and the founders of the church, giving the assent of their minds and hearts to the Calvinistic conception of the truth, and seeing only woe and calamity for the world in the disturbances which were shaking their ancient faith. Remain at the meeting-house conscientiously they could not, though to leave it was to tear up their affections by the roots. Where did they find a refuge?

In 1753 Mr. Caleb Warhurst, a Congregationalist of Bredbury, near Stockport, came to Manchester to conduct evangelistic services, on the invitation of a Mr. Winterbottom. At that time a Mr. Winterbottom was the minister of the Baptist church which worshipped in Cold House Lane. It was probably he, who, seeing the greatness of the opportunity, and knowing how helpful such services would be, invited Mr. Warhurst to Manchester. The venture resulted in the formation of a church of the Congregational order, to whose ministry Mr. Warhurst was ordained in 1756. Of the place where the church met for worship, nothing is definitely known. All that is known is this, that the church grew so steadily in numbers and influence that, in the course of a very few years, a larger building was required. A plot of land, called Hunter's Croft, was obtained in 1761, and upon it the desired meeting-house was built. It was opened for worship in the following year. To the new movement many of the members of the meeting-house in Cross Street gave their support, and in the chapel on Hunter's Croft, afterwards known as Cannon Street Chapel, they formed their home.

Mr. Warhurst's connection with the church was not prolonged. He was frail and delicate, the victim of a disease which slowly wasted his little store of strength, and on November 5th, 1765, after a ministry of only three years and a half in the larger building, his life's work was done. But in spite of his great bodily weakness, with its inevitable mental and moral depression, he wrought well and nobly, and his name should be honoured as that of the man who, under the guidance of God, refounded Congregationalism in Manchester.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy

Priestley, younger brother of Dr. Joseph Priestley, under whose ministry for some years the church prospered greatly. But the later years were troubled and distressful, and in 1784 he retired from the pastoral office.

His successor, the Rev. David Bradberry, of Ramsgate, was a poet of a peculiar order, and a man remarkable for his vanity and selfwill. Against the elders who had been appointed in the time of his predecessor to assist in the spiritual working of the church, he declared open war, and demanded their removal. The strife deepened in bitterness, and in 1787 many of the members of the church, weary of the conflict, severed their connection with it. Out of that secession sprang the church in Mosley Street, which was opened in September, 1788.

The next minister of the Cannon Street Church was the Rev. William Roby, who entered upon his duties in 1795. He was a man of fine character and great ability, wise, gentle, unassuming, whose large and tender sympathies embraced young and old, rich and poor alike, with a will that was inflexible in the cause of righteousness. To him, more than to any other man, the Congregationalists of Manchester are indebted for the expansion given to their principles in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The church at Cannon Street, under his guidance, entered on a new career. In an amazingly short time the shadow of its troubles passed away, and the smitten and desolate church became an active and prosperous Christian society. The success which attended Mr. Roby's endeavours made a larger building necessary, and, in 1807, a new place of worship was opened in Grosvenor Street, to which the church removed by a unanimous resolution of its members. It was intended that the

chapel in Cannon Street should be regularly supplied, and that the income arising from it should, for a time, be devoted to the reduction of a third of the debt upon the new building in Grosvenor Street.

The decision of the church, however, was frustrated by the action of five of its members, who, taking an advantage of a clause in the trust deed which gave power to any three members to prevent a settlement of the property, resolved to constitute themselves into a church and to remain at Cannon Street. Their action led to a painful controversy; but Mr. Roby and his friends, rather than waste the property in a law-suit, preferred to leave the five members in possession of the chapel in Cannon Street. The new church formed in the old building was blighted from its inception, and, though twenty years later a measure of success was realized under the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Bradley, yet it was not until the vicious associations of the beginning were obliterated by the removal, in 1860, of the church to Chorlton Road that it became a centre of gracious influence and the source of many sacred activities.

The great practical development of Congregationalism in Manchester and the neighbourhood which distinguished the early years of this century was mainly the result of Mr. Roby's untiring energy. He was the apostle and pioneer of the movement, and, though he had many self-denying and faithful colleagues—none more earnest and faithful than Mr. Jonathan Lees—it was the force of his example and influence which enlisted their sympathetic activity in the work. One of the first districts to be affected by his evangelistic passion was New Windsor, where Mr. Joule, one of the members of the church, erected a small place of worship at his own expense. Another village

which also early felt the touch of his beneficent hand was Patricroft, where a small chapel was opened in 1800 and a church formed four years later. The church at Sale, which was formed in 1805, owes its existence also to the efforts of Mr. Roby and his friends. The Zion Church, Stretford Road, which dates back to 1812, traces its origin to the persistent endeavours of Mr. Jonathan Lees and the encouragement given by Mr. Roby. With the formation of the church in Chapel Street, which met in the Cloth Hall, Greengate, in 1817, Mr. Roby was closely associated; and the church at Ashley Lane sprang from the work of the Sunday-school teachers of Grosvenor Street, aided by the wise direction of Mr. Lees, and Mr. Roby's unfailing support; while the church at Rusholme Road which was founded in 1825, and whose history has been a very noble one, owes its existence to the efforts of Mr. Roby and Dr. McAll, and the churches at Grosvenor Street and Mosley Street to which they ministered.

Nor were Mr. Roby's sympathies confined to Manchester and the district. Mainly as the result of his persuasive and persistent advocacy, an Itinerant preachers' society was formed in Lancashire, out of which in 1804 sprang the Lancashire Union of Congregational Churches. And in 1803 a seminary for the training of men for ministerial services was opened in Manchester, to which, gladly and without reward, Mr. Roby gave his services as president for five years. From that modest institution, which assembled in the vestry of Mosley Street Chapel, the Lancashire Independent College virtually traces its descent.

To the sacred crusade of Foreign Missions Mr. Roby and his friends gave themselves with such devotedness that the church at Grosvenor Street has links of sacrifice and heroism binding it to

nearly all lands. In the year 1816 Robert Hampson was sent from it to Calcutta, John Ince to Malacca, Samuel Wilson to Greece: and in that same year also there went out one, greater than all, Robert Moffatt, the saint and hero of South Africa. In 1821 Elijah Armitage went out as an artisan missionary to the South Seas, and in 1826 John Cummins and James Cameron went out as missionaries to Madagascar. And besides these there was Samuel Harper, a forgotten hero, who was murdered in the island of Tangatobo. Such a glorious roll of honour few churches can equal. Other churches of our order have freely given of their wealth and service, but perhaps none can shew a record like unto hers, whom we acknowledge with reverence and affection to be the noble and worthy mother of us all.

Early in January, 1830, Mr. Roby's work on this side the light was over. He was a great man, but his chief claim to distinction was, to quote Dr. McAll's words, that he was "greatly good"—a man who lived always in the light of his Master's presence, following Him "to the last gasp with truth and loyalty."

In 1801, when the population of Manchester and Salford was nearly 90,000, there were only two churches of our order in Manchester—the Cannon Street and Mosley Street Churches—and in Salford, or rather in its then distant suburb of New Windsor, the mission room built by Mr. Joule. The accommodation provided by the two churches and the mission room would not have sufficed for more than a thousand worshippers. In 1831, when the population had increased to 224,000, the Congregational churches were—Grosvenor Street; Mosley Street, where the Rev. Dr. McAll was exercising an influence in the town not inferior to that exercised by Mr. Roby; New Windsor, to which the Rev. George

Taylor ministered; Patricroft; Sale; the second church meeting in the old chapel in Cannon Street; Jackson's Lane, Hulme, of which the Rev. James Gwyther was minister; Chapel Street, Salford; Swinton; Ashley Lane; Rusholme Road, where the Rev. James Griffin had entered on his beneficent career; and a mission established at Charlestown by members of the church at New Windsor.

During the next thirty years the development of Congregationalism did not slacken. Hope Church was formed—one of the most distinguished churches of the district, whose name under the leadership of the Revs. J. L. Poore, G. B. Bubier, and R. W. Selbie, became a synonym for noble and devoted service; and the church at Harpurhey was founded by members of the church at Ashley Lane. Then came Park Chapel, to which the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Bedford, once ministered; the church at Pendleton; and the church at Bowdon, to-day under the guidance of Rev. Dr. MacKennal, one of the most influential churches of our order in England. A little later the Longsight, Richmond, and Wilmslow churches were formed, and the church at Mosley Street removed during the pastorate of the Rev. Dr. Halley to its statelier home in Cavendish Street, afterwards the scene of Dr. Parker's brilliant and inspiring ministry. Then followed the churches at Cheetham Hill, Knot Mill, Broughton, Rusholme, Eccles (a graft from Hope), and Cheadle; and the second church at Cannon Street lost its identity in the new church at Chorlton Road, and became, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Macfadyen, one of the strongest and most beneficent churches in the North of England.

During the next ten years, 1861-1871, churches were formed at Worsley Road, Swinton (another

graft from Hope), Prestwich, Levenshulme, Queen's Park, Openshaw, Stockport Road, Failsworth, Seedley, Burnage, Greenheys, Ancoats, and Cheadle Hulme.

Then the suburban tide began to flow more rapidly ; and the churches established since that time have been situated chiefly in the outer rings of the city. Among them are the churches at Openshaw, (Lees Street), Heaton Moor, Broughton Park, Ashton-on-Mersey, Regent, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Urmston, Gorton, Heaton Park, Withington, Newton Heath, Levenshulme (Zion), Hale and Broadheath (offshoots of the church at Bowdon), Alexandra Park, and Weaste.

To briefly summarize the progress of the last hundred years: In 1801 Congregationalism was represented in the Manchester district by two churches in Manchester and a mission at New Windsor. In 1901 it is represented by 56 churches, four Welsh churches, five mission halls, besides the numerous mission rooms associated with the various churches.

In the endeavour to carry the light of the Cross into heathen lands the Congregational churches of Manchester have had no unworthy share. Amongst the missionaries whom they have sent forth, in addition to those already named, are the Rev. James Edwards (South Africa), Rev. Henry Royle (South Seas), Rev. Joseph Gill (South Africa), Rev. R. G. Hartley (Madagascar), Rev. Mr. Penry (Central Africa), Rev. Dr. S. Macfarlane (New Guinea), Rev. Jonathan Lees (China), Rev. E. Le Mare (India), Dr. Frank Roberts and his sister, Miss Roberts (China), Rev. J. Marriott (Samoa), Rev. T. Beswick (New Guinea), and Dr. Ruth Massey (China).

Into the relation of Congregationalists to

the municipal activities of Manchester, and to the larger political life of the nation since the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, there is now no opportunity to enter. But this brief sketch of the history of Manchester Congregationalism would be very incomplete were no mention made of a few of the most distinguished of its sons. The Armitage family have been associated with our churches for at least a hundred years, and the connection of the Watts family covers almost the same length of time. For the greater part of a century the Lee family have been faithful supporters of our work, and its most distinguished representative, Mr. Henry Lee, with his sons, is with us still; while the Haworth family, whose association with our churches also covers the greater part of a century, are still amongst the most honoured and generous supporters of our endeavours. The names of Mr. Robert Spear, Mr. James Carlton, Mr. John Hewitt, Mr. James Kershaw, M.P., Mr. James and Mr. John Dilworth, Mr. Joseph Thompson, Mr. Samuel Pope, Mr. Samuel Fletcher, Mr. Carver, Mr. William Woodward, Mr. James Sidebottom, Mr. George Wood, Mr. George Hadfield, M.P., were household words in our churches years ago. The Rev. Joseph Whitworth and his son, the late Sir Joseph, were associated with the church at Mosley Street in the days of Dr. McAll, and Mr. John Cassell also, the founder of the great publishing house. To one who was associated with the same church, Mr. John Owens, Manchester is indebted for its famous college. And in honour of one who was a member of that same church in its home both at Mosley Street and at Cavendish Street—Mr. John Rylands—the noble library at Deansgate, with its priceless treasures, has recently been erected by her who bears his name. Nor should we forget that the present Vice-Chancellor

of Owens College—Mr. Alfred Hopkinson—belonged in his earlier years to the church at Rusholme Road, a church to which his father, Mr. Alderman Hopkinson, gave for many years the most loyal and generous support.

HENRY SHAW.

John Bunyan and Thomas Marsom

IN the admirable first number of the *Transactions* of our new Congregational Historical Society, there is an interesting paper by my friend, the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, on that portion of the "Diary of the Gurney Family" which relates to Thomas Marsom and describes him as a "Fellow-prisoner with John Bunyan." Mr. Horne gives this Diary to shew that in the archives of old Nonconformist families may possibly be found many buried documents of equal interest with the one he sets before us. He is as anxious as any of us, of course, to have only really reliable history, and he will, I am sure, excuse me if I use his paper to shew the need of caution in accepting such documents as the one to which he refers.

I first became acquainted with the passage from the Diary of William Brodie Gurney which Mr. Horne gives us, through a lecture on John Bunyan which the Rev. Charles Birrell of Liverpool delivered in Manchester now some fifty years ago, as one of a series on Puritan and Nonconformist worthies. I was so charmed with the chaste thought and feeling displayed in the lecture that when, in 1874, the Bunyan Statue was unveiled I prevailed upon Mr. Birrell to re-deliver it in Bedford, and it was afterwards printed in the "Book of the Bunyan Festival" along with the address by Dean Stanley. In this lecture the statements given in the Gurney Diary were related as from a letter received by Mr. Birrell from Mr. Gurney

himself. It so happened, however, that as my own personal researches proceeded, I began to have my doubts as to the trustworthiness of the story, and that for reasons I will now proceed to state.

The story is this: The grandfather of William Brodie Gurney married Martha the daughter of Thomas Marsom of Luton in 1730. Her grandfather again, also a Thomas Marsom, though a layman in business, was pastor of the church at Luton, and the Diary (which was not written till 1845) says: "He was in the Ministry 50 years, and suffered in Bedford Jail with John Bunyan and others." Farther on Mr. Gurney goes on to say: "When Bunyan had finished the manuscript of the first part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' he read it to his fellow-sufferers in Bedford Jail, with a view to obtaining their opinion upon it.....At the first reading some of them, among whom was Mr. Marsom, doubted the propriety of printing it. But on reflection he requested leave to read it alone, and examined it, and on this perusal, as he afterwards informed his family, he strongly recommended to Bunyan to print it."

Such is the story; let us see how it tallies with known facts. I have in my possession a copy of the funeral sermon preached for Thomas Marsom by John Needham of Hitchin, from which we find that he died January, 1726. Now as Bunyan died at the age of sixty, in 1688, Marsom survived him 38 years, and as Bunyan's 12 years' imprisonment terminated in 1672, or 16 years before his death, if Thomas Marsom was in prison with him he must have been a very young prisoner at the time. But we know now that Bunyan was twice in prison, 12 years in the county gaol (1660-1672) for preaching in the county at Samsell, and 6 months (1675-6) in the borough gaol on Bedford

bridge, no doubt for preaching to his own congregation in Bedford town. But as Marsom was an inhabitant of Luton, if he was in prison at all, it must have been in the county gaol at the corner of the Silver Street, not in the small town-prison on Bedford Bridge, he being a county prisoner and not a Bedford townsman. There is no proof, however, that he ever was even in the county gaol. In an official document we have the names of all the prisoners who were released with Bunyan in 1672, and certainly Thomas Marsom's name is not among them. John Needham, in the funeral sermon already mentioned, says that this good man "not only preached the truth of the gospel, but in a day of persecution and trial stood by it," (p. 41), but he explains this by saying that "he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods," and says nothing about his having been in gaol. But this is not all. The story of Bunyan reading his Pilgrim story to his fellow-prisoners, and of Marsom asking leave to read it alone, is, I am afraid, little more than a myth arising from the fact that the story comes to us as one which Mr. Gurney received from his grandmother, who had received it from her grandfather before her. For it is as certain as anything can well be that Bunyan wrote his allegory, not in the county gaol, but in the lock-up on the bridge, which was a very small apartment, capable of holding only two or three prisoners at most, and in which Bunyan was probably alone. If he wrote it in the county gaol, from which he was released in 1672, he must have kept the manuscript by him for six years before giving it to the world, for it certainly was not published till 1678, which was not usually Bunyan's way. My own impression is, as I have mentioned elsewhere, that he did not even finish the first part of the "Pilgrim's Progress" in gaol.

There is a curious break in the story which seems almost to suggest that he did not. After describing the parting of Christian and Hopeful from the shepherds on the Delectable Mountains, Bunyan says: "So I awoke from my dream." Then in the next paragraph he adds: "And I slept and dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the mountains along the highway towards the city." It is the only break that occurs in the first part of the book. It is not artistically required by the plot of the story, indeed it somewhat interferes with it; and the more probable conclusion is that Bunyan's dream was disturbed by Bunyan's release from his den, and that the remainder of the story, which amounts to nearly a third of the first part, was written after he was set at large. It was not, I think, while he was in prison but after he came out that

"Some said, John, print it; others said, not so: Some said it might do good; others said no."

There is another fact which has some bearing on the question before us. Mr. Urwick, in his careful and painstaking history of "Nonconformity in Hertfordshire," makes clear that till 1694, Thomas Marsom's ecclesiastical relations were with the celebrated Nonconformist church at Kensworth, which is in that county, not in Bedfordshire. Under date 1688 he gives the following extract from the Kensworth church records: "Immediately after the decease of that laborious servant of Christ, Thomas Hayward, the whole church was assembled at Kinsworth (*sic*) to consider their scattered state; and there the church did elect Brother Finch, *Brother Marsom*, and Brother Harden jointly and equally to officiate in the room of Brother Hayward in breaking bread and other administration of ordinances." Again, at the church meeting held May 18th, 1694, the

death "of our dear Brother Finch" was reported, and we find that "after Daniel Finch's death, Brother Marsom, the third brother chosen, led away a large number of members with him and founded the separate church at Luton." So that if ever Thomas Marsom was a prisoner under the Conventicle Act it was more probably in Hertfordshire than Bedfordshire, and therefore in Hertford gaol rather than Bedford.

The matter is not very important, of course, still, doubtful statements affect the historical mind very much as a false note in music strikes the musical ear, and one feels inclined to cry out.

JOHN BROWN.

Devonshire and the Indulgence of 1672

[The Declaration of Indulgence was issued on March xv. 1672 in pursuance of a policy to which Charles II. was pledged by the (secret) treaty of Dover (May xx. 1670). The King, by his sole authority, suspended all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical affecting either recusants or nonconformists, thus giving religious liberty not only to Dissenters but also to Roman Catholics. The leading men amongst the former class opposed the Declaration (as afterwards they opposed similar ones issued by James II.); for they were unwilling to purchase *religious* liberty by the recognition of an arbitrary power in the King which might destroy their *civil* liberty. Many licenses were issued however; for the relief promised was undoubtedly great. Compelled by his want of funds Charles again met his Parliament on Feby iv. 1673. This body had been prorogued on April ij. 1671, nominally for twelve months only. The Lords supported the Commons in their demand for the withdrawal of the Declaration, and Charles reluctantly yielded and recalled it, March viij. 1673. Parliament followed up this triumph by passing the Test Act, to which the royal assent was given March xxix.]

OF the nearly 3,400 licenses issued under the Indulgence granted by Charles II. in 1672 for Nonconformist preachers and places of worship, it appears from the memoranda at the Record Office no less than 116 were for ministers in Devon; of these 3 appear to be duplicates, and 163 for places of meeting in Devon other than the houses of the ministers themselves.

The list is most valuable as it shews at that date what a large number of Nonconformist

ministers and adherents there must have been in Devon.

Only about 7 of the certificates were granted to Baptists, all the rest being to Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Independents.

It is proposed to give first the list of preachers who took out licenses at that time, with some notes respecting them (where any can be gathered) from Calamy, Palmer's Nonconformist Memorial, and other sources, particularly local ones; and afterwards a list of the places licensed for meetings, with notes respecting the owners or occupiers who took out the licenses.

ASHWOOD BARTHOLEMEW, AXMINSTER,

ejected from the Rectory of Axminster. Calamy and Palmer say very little about him; but we learn much of him and his troubles from a narrative written by an able and honest chronicler, and contemporary constituent of the Church. It is entitled "Ecclesiastica or a Book of Remembrance, wherein the Rise, Constitution, Rule, Order and discipline of the Church of Christ ordinarily assembled at Wykecroft in the Parish of Axminster is faithfully recorded together with the most remarkable occurrences and signall Providences which have attended the same from the first Foundation thereof. By the order and Appoyntment of the Church."

The writer records how Mr. Ashwood, anticipating the storm which was to fall, gathered together a few choice spirits, about 12 in number, and formed them into a church.

Before Bartholomew's day, 1662, he was apprehended and sent to the common gaol at Exon, but only kept there a few days.

After the ejection Mr. Ashwood gathered the

people together and ministered to them with great difficulty and much persecution.

The "Ecclesiastica," which was published in 1674, records the covenant which Mr. Ashwood and his people from time to time renewed, and specially refers to the Indulgence of 1672 and says :—

"That this Church thought it meet to procure a convenient place for the worship of God and accordingly hired a house at Wykecroft in the parish of Axminster," which continued to be the place of meeting unless persecution prevented.

He died August 26th, 1678, at Chard, and the "Ecclesiastica" gives a full account of his last hours and the grief of the church at his death ; it also contains most interesting records of the church down to 1698. Mr Ashwood was the author of "The Heavenly trade or the best merchandise the only way to live well in impoverishing times," 1679 : "The best treatise on the way to be truly rich ; a discourse on Ephes 3c 8v," 1681.

ATKINS ROBERT, M.A., EXETER,

of Wadham College, Oxford, ejected from St. John's in the City of Exeter. When he left college he was appointed one of Cromwell's chaplains. On failure of health he removed to Exeter, and became a very popular preacher. In his farewell sermon he said :—"We will do anything for His Majesty but sin. We will hazard anything for him but our souls. We hope we could die for him, but we dare not be damned for him." After his ejection he preached in his own house, and was persecuted in consequence and fined £20 ; which not being paid he was arrested when in bed with gout and removed to the courtyard of his

house, but no one would carry him into the prison, and friends paid the fine. He died in 1685 aged 59.

Shortly before his ejection, preaching when Bishop Gauden was present, he affirmed, and by 1 Cor. iv., 15 proved, that those ministers who beget converts to Christ may most properly be called *Fathers in God.*

BARTLETT JOHN, BIDEFORD,

was ejected from the vicarage of Fremington near Bideford. He was a great personal friend of John Howe. After his ejection he assisted his father, who was ejected from the living of Bideford, and who ministered as he could in private houses in and about that town.

He was fined twice and imprisoned, and in a letter to his wife gave an account of it. He says "We came into Exeter yesterday in the afternoon, and were carried up Northgate Street and down along High Street through Westgate, multitudes of rude people gathering about us and flouting us at their pleasure. I bless the Lord I was as cheerful as ever. Oh, how small a matter is it to be reproached by worms, when respected by the Lord. We were carried out to St. Thomas' Parish, and at last brought to the prison and carried in, but stayed not there long, till Mr Greenhill Weeks ordered our removal to an Inn near by, where we were, having a sentinel at our chamber door." He died 1679 aged 44.

BARTLETT WILLIAM, DEVON,

of New Inn Hall, Oxford, father of the last named, was lecturer at Bideford Church, and on the resignation of the living in 1648 was appointed

vicar. He conducted his church on Congregational or Presbyterian lines, for in 1658 a solemn covenant or engagement is entered into and signed by him and by Daniel Slade, ruling elder, Thomas Beale, deacon, then mayor of Bideford, and 50 other members. He was imprisoned once, but another time escaped through someone else being arrested for him. He wrote and published "The model of the Congregational way," "Eyesalve to anoint the Eyes of the Ministers of the Province of London," and "Sovereign Balsam for healing such Professors as Satan hath wounded."

BATTLER JOHN, UFFCULME.

BERRY BEN, EXETER,

was ejected from Mary Tavy or Huxham, and also from Trull in Somerset; possibly from one in 1660 and the other in 1662.

BERRY HENRY, CREDITON near EXETER,

brother to Mr Benjamin Berry before mentioned and Mr John Berry the next referred to. Mr Henry Berry was ejected from Dulverton, Somerset.‡

BERRY JOHN, M.A., BARNSTAPLE,

ejected from rectory of East Down. Was Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and of Oriel College; episcopally ordained and presented in 1658 by the Protector Richard Cromwell to East Down. After his ejection was imprisoned at Exeter.

‡ H. Berry of Dulverton was born at Castlecombe in Somerset; but John B. was a Devonshire man.—Ed.

When liberty was granted he preached at Barnstaple, Ilfracombe, and Puddington, Devon. Was Moderator of the Exeter Assembly, Sept. 8, 1696, and died Dec. 1704. Mr Baxter spoke of him as an able Minister.

BICKLE, RICHARD, BUCKFASTLEIGH,

ejected from the Rectory of Denbury, to which he had come in 1646. He was falsely said to have conformed. His successor in the living of Denbury allowed him £20 a year. On the Indulgence he ministered at Buckfastleigh, and died at Totnes.

BLYTH DR "OWN HOUSE," NORTON,

who Dr Blyth was does not appear; Norton may be Nordon near West Alvington, Kingsbridge. Many ejected ministers and others settled at Kingsbridge, it not being a borough town.

BOWDEN JONATHAN, MIRLIN.*

BINMORE RICHARD, "OWN HOUSE," WOODLEIGH,

ejected from rectory of Woodleigh. Continued there and preached a funeral sermon in the church with consent of incumbent and some neighbouring magistrates. Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, complained to the Justices, and he was committed to Exeter; but being allowed to see the Bishop he let him go saying "he should not enrich him by sending him to jail." He ministered in his own house for which he took out a licence.

*Is this the same as John Bowden, ejected from Littleham near Bideford? If so, he preached to a dissenting congregation at Bideford till his death, which was about 1700.—Ed.

BURDWOOD JAMES "OWN HOUSE," BIGBURY,

ejected from St. Petrox, Dartmouth. He was of a Devonshire family who had an estate at Preston in West Alvington, near Kingsbridge, which they had owned for many generations. He was educated at Kingsbridge Grammar School (which was a Puritan foundation, or the endowment augmented from Puritan sources,) and at Pembroke College, Oxford. After leaving the university he was minister at Plympton St. Mary, and from thence removed to Dartmouth at the invitation of the magistrates. After his ejection, having a wife and family dependent on him, he started a Latin school in Dartmouth; but the Five Mile Act drove him from thence. He then thought of emigrating to America, and sold his estate, but decided to rent one in Batson in Marlborough. He was there 5 years and preached in his own house; he was much persecuted by a man named Bear, and was fined. He then moved to Hicks Down, Bigbury, and while there the Indulgence of 1672 allowed him to take out a license for his own house, where he preached, though still suffering much persecution. He then returned to Dartmouth and had much kindness shewn by Mr T. Boone, a leading gentleman of the neighbourhood, and his family. Having to leave Dartmouth and give up housekeeping he was entertained with his wife and some of his children by Dr Richard Burthogge, a leading Nonconformist, who resided at Bowden House, Totnes; and Dr Burthogge took out a license for his house for worship; the house still stands, and has a secret chamber in which it is said that the worthy doctor hid the persecuted Nonconformists he entertained.

Afterwards Mr Burdwood returned to Dartmouth, and died there 21 August 1693, aged 67.

He seemed to have suffered acutely in his last illness, which made him the more able to pen the books entitled "Heartsease in Heart's Trouble," and "Helps for faith in Times of Affliction."

EDWARD WINDEATT.

The Puritans in Devon.

FEW counties in England are so rich in memorials of the Puritans of the 17th Century as the county of Devon, where they were very strong, especially in the towns which favoured the Parliamentarian party.

As a proof of this no less than 73 ministers in Devon published in 1648 a joint testimony of a decidedly Puritan character. The title page is as follows :—

THE
JOINT-TESTIMONIE
OF THE
Ministers of *Devon*, whose names are subscribed ; with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of *London*, unto the truth of Jesus.
With a brief Confutation of the Errors, Heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them.
In pursuance of the solemn League, and Covenant of the three Nations.

Wee can do nothing against the Truth but for the Truth. 2 Cor. 13. 8.
It is a faithful saying ; for if wee bee dead with him, wee shall also live wi h him. If wee suffer, wee shal also raign with him, if wee denie him, hee also wil denie us. 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12.

LONDON.

Printed by *William Du-gard* for *Ralph Smith*, at the Sign of the Bible in Corn-hill, 1648.

The address to their brethren of London is as follows :—

To Our Reverend Brethren, the
Ministers of Christ in the Province
of London.

Reverend and beloved !

As witness-bearing to the truth of God in the times of Errors reign, and Heresies insulting hath been a work ful of difficulty and danger, so no less sweet and comfortable hath it proved to the Lords servants to bee found faithful. It was our rejoycing to see you in such a time as this lead in this work, and wee judg it our duty to follow after. Wee have trod in your steps, as to the enumeration of the Errors of the present time : And however to point with the finger only and cry, ECCE MŒCHUM, bee a true witness against a notorious adulterer ; yet because it is thought not sufficient to call Error by its own name without proving it, wee have briefly alledged the Testimonies of infallible witnesses against the Errors arraigned, intending onely to hold out so much as may convince the pious, of the just crimination of these opinions, not to satisfy the contentious. Wee have transmitted the work (how weak soever) unto your hands, that it may see the light, and shew the World that wee are Joint-Witnesses with you against Errors, and desire not to bee ashamed of the Testimonie of the Lord, and his reproached Servants. Yours and ours wee commend to the protection of the God of Truth. In whom wee desire to bee found.

Your Faithful Brethren,
THE SUBSCRIBERS.

Of the 73 who signed the testimony no less than 31 were afterwards ejected for non-conformity, several are known to have died prior to 1662, and others left the country. The 31 who were ejected, and whose names follow, became on their ejection the founders of Nonconformist causes in many parts of Devon, which exist to this day.

Georg Hughes Minister in Plymouth
Ferdinando Nicolls Minister of Mary Arches Exon.
Thomas Ford Minister in Exon
John Bartlet Minister of Mary the More in Exon
Thomas Downe Minister of Pauls in Exon
Mark Down Minister of Petrocks in Exon
Robert Snow Minister of Morchard
Thomas Trescot Minister of Shobrook
Nathaniel Durant Pastor of Cheriton

Peter Osborne minister of Jacobstow
William Trevithick minister of Hatherly
Anthony Down minister of North Ham
Thomas Bridgman minister of Inwardleigh
Richard Bibington minister of Sidberry
Ames Short Pastor of Topisham
Samuel Fones Pastor of Woodbery
Ambrose Clare minister of Poltimore
John Serle Pastor of Awliscombe
Georg Hammond minister at Mamhead
John Hill minister of North Moulton
William Yeo Minister of Newton Abbot
William Treise minister of the Gospel
Humphrey Saunders Pastor of Hollesworthy
John Stephens Pastor of East Ogwell
Francis Sorton minister of Honiton
Richard Bickley minister of Denberry
William Baily minister of Stoakflemming
Josias Gale minister of West Buckland
Christopher Jellinger minister of Brent
Thomas Frend minister of Blackanton
John Herring minister in Maristow.

EDWARD WINDEATT.

An Unpublished Letter of Dr. Isaac Watts

THE courtesy of H. Mannering, Esq., has placed in my hands the original fragment of Dr. Watts's Church-Book, from which extracts are given in the last *Transactions*. In it is mounted an autograph letter, apparently unknown to editors and biographers. It is clearly but very minutely written, in 59 lines, on a single page, 8·2 by 7·3 inches. In a few places the paper is worn so as to be illegible. Otherwise it is given here *literatim*, except for the supply of some deficient capitals and punctuation.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

To The Church of Christ Meeting in Bury Street, of which the Holy Spirit hath made me Overseer—

Dearly Beloved in our Lord: Grace mercy and peace . . . be multiplyd to you from God our Father and our Lord Jesus X. It has been a very sore agravation of my long sorrows that I have not bin able to encourage your christian visits, to converse with you singly, to receive your consolations, to relate (?) my own experiences; nor have I bin capable to express my constant concern for your welfare by writing to you together as a church, as I often designed; but you are upon my heart more than ever, whilst God chastises my former want of zeal by silencing me for a season. I bow to his wisdom and holiness and am learning obedience by the things that I suffer, and many lessons of righteousness and grace which I hope hereafter to publish amongst you: as I have been long pleading with him for pardon of my negligence, so I ask you also to forgive: long afflictions are soul-searching providences, and discover the secret of the heart and omission of duties that were unobserved in a day of peace. May the Blessed Spirit reveal to each of us why he continues to contend with us. I cannot reckon up all my obligations to you for your kind supports of me under my tedious and expensive sickness, & for your continued . . . . nt prayers for my recovery, which gave me the first

ground of hope that I shoud be restored, which hope & expectation still remains with me, and (I think) are supported by the word and Spirit of God : it seems at present to be more needfull for you that I abide in the flesh : Phil. 1 : 24, 25, 26, & I trust I shall yet abide for your furtherance & joy of faith, that your rejoycing may be more abundant in Christ Jesus for me, by my comming to you again ; and whilst I am confined as the prisoner of God, I request the continuance of your supplications for patience and sanctification as well as helth (?). I rejoyce also to hear of your union, your love, & your attendance on the worship of the church ; this has been a great comfort to my tho'ts in the time of my affliction and absence, yet I am in pain for your edification, because you have none among you to administer the spiritual & sealing ordinances : And since it is your earnest desire to know my opinion in that affair that lyes before you, I have at several seasons been enabled to write it under these heads. (1) That there were in the primitive churches severall preaching Elders, Bishops, or Overseers. (2) That where their gifts were (?) different, some were called Pastors or Elders for exhortation, to feed the flock, to exhort the saints ; others were called teachers or Elders for doctrine, to instruct their hearers in the principles of christianity, chiefly the younger christians, and to bring in new converts. (3) The Scripture does not determin when or how often one or other shoud preach or administer holy ordinances, and yet 'tis necessary there should be some rule to decide it, lest ambition and controversy shoud arise among the Elders in this matter. (4) The scripture makes no distinction or subordination of power betwixt them in the church, but seems to give all Elders an equality of power. (5) Therefore I beleive the church (to which the light of nature and scripture hath given all power in things indifferent that are necessary to be determined) has power to appoint the times seasons and places of their ministrations. (6) It is for the certain advantage of a church to have more Elders than one in it, that they may more frequently [*illegible*] the church, more fully take care of them, & regularly administer all holy ordinances (?) if one or other be sick or absent, and may also better keep the church [*illegible*] young converts to joyn themselves to it. (7) That it is for the advantage of a church to have such a[n] Elder chosen, whose gifts have bin tryd & approved in the church & been own & blessed of God for the good of souls, if (? &) such a one may most likely please & profit. Now with regard to our church in particular (1) It is my opinion that, wither [*sic*] I live or die, if such an Elder be chosen by the universal desire and voice of the church, it will be much for their advantage in all probability. (2) Wither I live or die, if another Elder be chosen with the desire of a few persons and the opposition of a few, and the bare cold consent of the major part, it will not be for the advantage of the church ; and I am sure my worthy brother, Mr Sam. Price, on whom your tho'ts are sett, hath too tender a sense of your spiritual interest, too wise a sense of his own, to accept of such

an imperfect call (?) to fixed office in the church. (3) If another Elder be chosen with a pretty general desire of the church (though not universal,) it will be for the advantage of the church if I live and am restored to your service ; and I shall rejoyce to have you supply'd with all ordinances in my absence by a man that I most entirely confide in ; and at my return shall rejoyce to be assisted in all services to the church by one whom I love & esteem highly, and I write as much with an eye to your future benefitt as to your pressent want. (4) If God for my sins shall refuse to employ me again (for I have justly deserved it,) and if he shall deny the long and importunate requests of his people (for he is a great Soveraign,) I trust he will direct and encline your heart (?) to choose and establish one or more Elders among you, which may give universal satisfaction, and especially to such as now may be less satisfyed, and may be for your future edification and encrease. (5) If my beloved brother Price be chosen as an Elder among you, I hope your diligent and Sincere attendance on his ministrations may give you more abundant sense of his true worth, of the exactness of his discourses, of the seriousness of his spirit, and of the constant blessing of God with him, all which I have observed with much pleasure. Now I have fully delivered my sentiments in this affair, and you see how sincere and hearty I am in it. Yet I will give you two reasons why I did not think fit first to propose it to the church. (1) Because it is the proper business of the church to seek after Elders and officers of its-self, from a sight and sense of their own spiritual interest, both as Christians [*illegible*] body, especially considering the Elder you propose to choose is not to be my deputy [*several words illegible*] the Lord. (2) Because I never [*illegible*] anything of such importance [*several words illegible*] without your own deed, sense, and prospect of your own edification and establishment as a church of Christ : nor would I influence you in this affair unless the judgement of your own minds concur with mine ; for as I never had my interest divided from the interest of the church, so I hope I never shall. And now, Brethren dearly beloved, I intreat you by the love of Christ to you, and by the love you bear to Christ our common Lord, that there may be no contention among you. I would be glad to find every affair that belongs to the church determined by as many voices as I trust I have hearty (?) affections among you ; however, with freedom let every one speak his sentiments as under the eye of Christ the great Shepherd, without byass or resentment, and with zeal for the churches interest. Let everything that is debated be with great calmness, and so much the more in my absence ; each of you believing concerning one another that you sincerely seek the honour of Christ, and the Union and peace (?) of the church, as I believe concerning you all. Let each of you be ready to lay aside his own former opinions or resolutions, as you shall see reason arise, for the common welfare. If there should be quarrels & jangling, reflections & hard speeches, it would be a grief too heavy for me to

bear, & the most effectual way to overwhelm my spirit and delay my return to you; and as I know you have y^e^ utmost tenderness of my peace, you ought to be as tender of each others spirituall advantage and the union and peace of the body, and to indulge no secret wispers [*sic*] or backbitings that may hinder the edification of your brethren by the ministrations of the church. But I will not give myself leave to entertain such suspition concerning you, who have so many years walked together in constant love. I pray heartily that the alwise God and Jesus Christ our Lord may preside in your consultations, direct your hearts, and determine all things for you, that you may be established and edified, & be a joy and blessing to each other; as you have been, and I trust will be, to

Your most affectionate and afflicted Pastor,

November 4th, 1713. ISAAC WATTS.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography

II.

WE resume our enumeration of the principal works of Early Nonconformists. In the present paper we review the writers of the second period, from the emigration which followed the martyrdom of Penry to the death of King James I.; commencing with the literature of the Exiled Church in Holland.

FRANCIS JOHNSON was born at Richmond, Yorks., about 1562, and graduated at Cambridge. Being expelled from the University and imprisoned for a sermon in favour of Presbyterianism, he retired to Middleberg in Zeeland, and became pastor of a church to which Cartwright and Travers had formerly ministered. Returning to England, he adopted Congregational principles under the influence of Barrowe, and was chosen pastor of the Separatist Church. After another imprisonment he migrated to Amsterdam, whither most of the Church had preceded him, in 1597. There, and at Emden, he ministered till his death in 1618. His works are :—

A Treatise of the Ministery of the Church of England. Wherein is handled this question, Whether it be to be separated from or joyned unto. Which is discussed in two letters, the one written for it, the other against it. Wherevnto is annexed, after the preface, A brief declaration of the ordinary officers of the Church of Christ, And a few positions. Also in the end of the treatise some notes touching the Lordes prayer. Seven questions, etc. 4to., 8-143pp., 1595. Copies in the Bodleian, Lambeth, and Williams's Libraries, &c. Elder Brewster's copy, with his autograph, is in the Prince Library, Boston, U.S.

An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his Defence of the Churches and Ministery of England, by Fr. I. an exile of Jesvs Christ, etc. 4to., 28-184pp., 1600. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's Library.

An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his treatise concerning the Priestes of the Church of England, made by the Praelates, accepted and ioyned vnto by the people. Which he termeth a Pastorall Calling, by Fr. I. an exile for the testimony of Jesus, etc. 4to., 36pp., 1600. Annexed to the foregoing.

An Apologie or Defence of svch Trve Christians as are commonly (but vniustly) called BROVVNISTS. *Against such imputations as are layd*

vpon them by the Heads and Doctors of the Vniversity of Oxford, in their Answver to the humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certayne Ceremonies and abuses of the Church. Jer. vi. 16, Phil. iii. 2. 4to., 16-118pp. Amsterdam, 1604. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. This is the joint production of F Johnson and H. Ainsworth. It was reprinted in Dutch, with the title *Apologie der Brownisten tegen de Universiteyt van Oxford*, 8vo., Amsterdam 1612 ; and again, with an introduction, but omitting the opening address to King James, under the title *Belijdenisse des Geloofs, ofte verant-woordinghe van soodanighe Christenen, Welcke doorgaans (docht 'onrecht) Brouwinsten Gensemtworden, etc.* 16mo. 8-232pp., Amsterdam, 1670.

An Inquirie and Answer of Thomas White, his Discovery of Brownism, by F. I. Pastor of the exiled English Church at Amsterdam in Holland. 4to., 92pp., 1605. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

Certayne Reasons and Arguments proving that it is not lawfull to heare or have any Spirituall communion with the present ministerie of the Church of England. 4to., 115pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Libraries.

A Brief Treatise containing some grounds and reasons against two Errors of the Anabaptists, 1610. No original copy is known ; but there is a Reprint, 16mo., 8-16pp., 1645, in the British Museum.

A Short Treatise Concerning the Exposition of those Words of Christ, "Tell the Church" etc. 4to., 4-26pp., 1611. Copies in the British Museum and the Prince Library, Boston.

A Christian Plea, conteyning three Treatises, (1) touching the Anabaptists, & others maintayning some like errours with them ; (2) touching the Remonstrants or Arminians ; (3) touching the Reformed Churches, etc. 4to., 8-324pp., 1617. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Libraries.

George Johnson, younger brother of Francis, was born about 1564 ; and, having graduated at Cambridge, became a schoolmaster in London. In 1593 he was arrested for preaching to a company of Separatists ; and after nearly four years' imprisonment was banished. He became a member of the exiled church at Amsterdam, in which he caused painful dissensions, and was ultimately excommunicated. Returning to England he was again arrested, and died in prison at Durham probably in 1605. His only known work is :—

A Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam. Published for sundry causes declared in the preface to the Pastour of the sayd Church. Isa. lxvi., 5 ; Ps. lv., 12, 13, 14 ; 1 Pet. iii., 15, 16, 17 ; 3 John 9, 10. 4to., 1603. The only known copy, in Trinity College, Cambridge, breaks off abruptly at the end of p. 214 ; and was perhaps never completed.

Henry Jacob, born in Kent about 1563, was a graduate of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and afterwards rector of Cheriton near Folkestone.

After a controversy with Francis Johnson he found prelacy intolerable, and migrated to Holland. He ministered for some time at Middleberg, and gradually accepted the principles of Congregationalism, probably under the influence of John Robinson at Leyden. Returning to England in 1616 he organized the Church in Southwark, still known as "The Church of the Pilgrim Fathers," which seems to have absorbed that remnant of the "Ancient exiled Church" which still remained in or near London. About 1624 he sailed for Virginia, where he soon afterwards died; but the time, place, and circumstances of his death are unknown. His works are: —

A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the worke of our redemption. Contrarie to certain errours publiklie preached in London, anno 1597. 8vo., 1598. A copy is in the British Museum.

A defence of the Churches and Ministery of England Written in two treatises, against the reasons and obiections of Mr. Francis Johnson, and other of the Separation commonly called Brownists. 4to., 83pp., Middelberg 1599. With this is bound up

A Short Treatise concerning the truenes of a pastorall calling in pastors made by praelates. 4to., 8pp.. Middelberg 1599 Copies of these are in the British Museum, Williams's, and several other libraries.

A Defence of a Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the Work of our Redemption . . . . for answer to the late writings of Mr. Bilson, L. Bp. of Winchester. 4to., 1600. There is an imperfect copy in the British Museum.

We also find mention of *A Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's Redemption, 1604;* but cannot learn anything about it.

Reasons taken out of God's Word, and the best humane testimonies, proving a necessitie of reforming our churches in England. 4to., 83pp. London 1604. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Libraries.

A Christian and Modest Offer of a most Indifferent Conference, or Dispvtation, about the maine and principall Controversies betwixt the Prelats, and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England; tendered by some of the said Ministers to the Arch. bb. and Bb., and all their adherents. 4to., 10-42pp. London 1606. Copies in the Bodleian, Trinity College (Cambridge), and the Congregational Library.

To the right High and Mightie Prince, Iames, etc. An humble Supplication for Tolcration and libertie to enioy and observe the ordinances of Christ Iesvs in th' administration of his Churches in lieu of humane constitutions. 4to., 48pp., 1609. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and Lambeth libraries; the latter with marginal notes by the king. Reprinted in 1859, with the king's annotations.

A Plain and Clear Exposition of the Second Commandment. Leyden 1610; a copy is in the British Museum.

The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's Trve Visible or

Ministerial Church, Also the Unchangeableness of the same by men, viz., in the form and essential Constitution thereof. 12mo., 118pp., Leyden 1610. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's libraries.

A Declaration and Plainer Opening of certain points, with a sound confirmation of some other, contained in a treatise intituled "The Divine Beginning etc." 12mo., 45pp, Middelberg 1611. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

An Attestation of many Learned, Godly and famous Divines, etc.,—iustifying this doctrine, viz.: that the Church government ought to bee always with the peoples free consent: Also this, that a true Church vnder the Gospell contayneth no more ordinary Congregations but one, etc. also D. Downames & D. Bilsons chiefe matters in their writings against the same are answered, etc. 8vo. or 12mo., 8-333-10pp. Geneva(?) 1613. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

A Confession and Protestation of the Faith of certain Christians in England, holding it necessary to observe and keep all Christs true substantial Ordinances for his Church visible and Political. Also an Humble Petition to the Kings Majesty for toleration therein. 16mo., 69pp., 1616. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Libraries. This is evidently the confession of the Southwark Church, after Jacob's return to England.

It seems proper here to notice *Certayne Letters, translated into English, being first written in Latin. Two, by the reverend and learned Mr. Fr. Junius, Diuinitie Reader at Leyden in Holland. The other, by the exiled English Church, abiding for the present at Amsterdam in Holland. Together with the Confession of Faith prefixed; where vpon the said letters were first written. Esa. 53. 1. Printed in the yeare 1602.* 4to., 2-58pp. Copies are in the British Museum and the Bodleian. The Latin originals were published in "Praestant. ac Erud: virorum Epistolae," 1660; another edition 1704. The "Confession" referred to is that of 1596; see *Transactions* No. 1, p. 57.

Henry Ainsworth was by far the most learned, as he was the most voluminous, author connected with the Exiled Church. The facts of his early life are somewhat uncertain: but he was probably born in Norfolk in 1571, and settled in Amsterdam 1594 or-5. By one account he had a principal hand in the settlement of the exiles in that city. He married there in 1607, and died in 1622 or-23. His works are:—

An Apologie or Defence of such Trve Christians as are commonly . . . called Brownists &c., 1604. The joint work of Ainsworth and Fr. Johnson, see above.

Certayne Questions concerning (1) Silk, or vvool, in the High Priests Ephod. (2) Idol temples, commonly called Churches. (3) The forme of Prayer, commonly called the Lords prayer. (4) Excommunication, etc. Handled between Mr. H[ugh] B[roughton] and Mr. H. A. 4to., 4-40pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library, &c.

Answer to Mr. Stones Sermon, 1605. This is mentioned by C. Lawne (see below); but otherwise we can learn nothing about it.

The Communion of Saincts. A Treatise of the fellowship that the Faithful have with God, and his Angels, and one with another; in this present life, etc. 1607, no copy known; but reprinted in 1611?, 1615, 1628, 1640, 1789, 1844. Most of the reprints are fairly common. A French version, printed at Amsterdam in 1617, is in the Congregational Library.

Counterpoyson: Considerations touching the poynts in difference between the godly ministers and people of the Church of England, and the seduced brethren of the Separation; Arguments That the best Assemblies of the present Church of England are true visible Churches; That the Preachers in the best assemblies of Engl. are true ministers of Christ; Mr. Bernards book intituled The Separatists Schisme; Mr. Crashawes Questions propounded in his sermon preached at the Crosse; examined and answered by H. A. 4to., 255pp., 1608. Copies in many public libraries. Reprinted in 1642.

An Epistle sent unto two daughters of Warwick from H. N., with a Refutation of the errors that are therein. 4to., 64pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. The "Epistle" here refuted was from Henry Nicholas, leader of the sect called "The Family of Love."

A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship and Ministerie used in the Christian churches separated from Antichrist; against the challenges, cavils, and contradiction of Mr. Smyth. 4to., 1609. Copies in the British Museum and Congregational Library.

An Arrow against Idolatrie; Taken out of the Quiver of the Lord of Hosts. 16mo., 174pp., 1611. A copy is in the British Museum. Reprinted in 1614, 1624, 1640 (two editions), and 1789. The Congregational Library has the editions of 1614 and 1789.

The Book of Psalmes: Englished both in prose and metre. With annotations, opening the words and sentences, by conference with other Scriptures. 4to., Amsterdam 1612. A copy is in the British Museum. There was an edition in 4to. with musical notes, 1617, copies of which are in the Brit. Mus. and Bodleian; also another, same year, in 4to., without the metrical version, in the Congregational Library; likewise editions in folio 1626 and 1639; in Dutch fol. 1690: and a reprint 8vo., Edbg. 1846. In the folio of 1626 the metrical version is omitted.

An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Cliffton's Advertisement, who under pretense of answering Chr. Lawnes book hath published an other man's private letter, with Mr. Fr. Johnsons answer thereto. Amsterdam, 4to., 8-138pp., 1613. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

The Trying out of the Truth: Begvnn and proseqvted in certayn Letters or Passages between John Aynsworth and Henry Aynsworth. 4to., 190pp., 1615. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's,

and Congregational Library. John Aynsworth was a Roman Catholic.

Annotations upon the first book of Moses, called Genesis. Wherein, the Hebrew words and sentences, are compared with, and explayned by the ancient Greek and Chaldee versions; but chiefly, by conference with the holy Scriptures, etc. 4to., 274pp., 1616; another 4to. edn., 1621 (See below for other editions).

Annotations Upon the second book of Moses, called Exodus. Wherin, by conferring the holy Scriptures, comparing the Chaldee and Greek versions, and other records of the Hebrewes; Moses his wordes, lawes and ordinances, are explained, etc. 4to., 242pp., 1617 (See below).

Annotations upon the Third book of Moses, called Leviticus, etc. 4to., 276pp., 1618 (See below).

Annotations upon the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers, etc. 4to., 312pp., 1619 (See below).

Annotations upon the fifth Book of Moses called Devteronomie, etc., with an advertisement to the reader etc. 4to., 294pp., 1619. The whole of the Annotations on the Pentateuch are frequently bound together, and are in many public libraries. There were collected editions in folio, 1626 and 1639, which are fairly common; also one in Dutch 1690; and a reprint, 8vo., Edinbg., 1846.

A Reply to a Pretended Christian Plea for the Anti Christian Church of Rome: published by Mr. Francis Johnson a° 1617, wherin the weakness of the sayd Plea is manifested. 4to., 4-184pp., 1620. Copies in the Brit. Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere.

Solomon's Song of Songs, in English metre; with Annotations and References to other Scriptvres, for the easier vnderstanding of it. 4to., 1623, of which edition we cannot find any example. Reprinted 4to., 96pp., 1642; and in all the folio editions of the Annotations on the Pentateuch; also 8vo., Edbg., 1846.

A Seasonable Discourse, or a Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists, Intitvled, A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning man. 4to., 1623, but no copy known of the original edition. Reprinted in 1642, 1644, and 1651; copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere. This was a reply to a treatise by J. Murton, see below.

Certain notes of Mr. Ainsworth's last Sermon on 1 Pet. ii., 4, 5, etc. Published by S. Staresmore, 8vo., 1630. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

The Orthodox Fovndation of Religion, long since collected by that Judicious and Elegant man, Mr. H. A., for the benefit of his private company: and now divulged for the publike good of all that desire to know that corner stone Christ Jesus crucified, by S[amuel] *W*[hite]. 4to., 8-78pp., 1641. A copy in the British Museum. Reprinted with Title *The Old Orthodox Foundation of Religion, left for a Patterne to a New Reformation.* 4to., 1653, copies in the Bodleian, Congregational Library, &c.

We come now to those authors in the "Exiled Church" who migrated to Holland from the neighbourhood of Gainsborough and Scrooby, and were most intimately associated with the Pilgrim Fathers.

JOHN SMYTH, commonly called "The Se-baptist." The date and place of his birth are unknown; he matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1571, proceeded B.A. 1575 or-6, Fellow and M.A. 1579. Afterwards he was "preacher to the citie of Lincoln." In 1606 he was pastor of a Separatist Church at Gainsborough; and within a year or little more migrated with them to Amsterdam Before the end of 1608 he had adopted "Baptist" opinions, and died in August 1612. He wrote:—

A Paterne of Trve Prayer; 4to., 8-182pp., 1605. This is an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, being the substance of discourses formerly preached in Lincoln. The only perfect copy known is in the Congregational Library, which has also a fragment of another copy. A second edition, 8vo., 1626, is in the British Museum and elsewhere.

Principles and Inferences concerning the Visible Church. 16mo., 32pp., 1607. The only known copies are, one at York Minster, and one in the library gathered by Dr. H. M. Dexter, now at Yale College.

The Differences of the Churches of the Separation. Containing A description of the Leitovrgie and Ministerie of the visible Church Annexed: As a Correction and Svpplement to a Little Treatise lately pnblished, bearing title: Principles and Inferences, etc. 4to., 4-36pp., 1609. Copies at Sion College, the Bodleian, and Harvard College U.S.

Paralleles, Censvres, Observations. Apertevning: to three several Writinges. (1) *A Lettre written to Mr. Ric. Bernard, by J S;* (2) *A Book intitnled, The Separatists Schisme, etc.;* (3) *An Answer made to that book by H. Ainsworth; Wherevnto also are adioyned;* (1) *The said Lettre written to Mr. R B divided into 19 sections;* (2) *Another Lettre written to Mr. A. S.;* (3) *A Third Lettre written to certayne Brethren of the Separation.* 4to., 3-136-12pp., 1609. Copies in the Bodleian, Queen's College, Cambridge, and the Congregational Library (imperfect).

The Character of the Beast, or the false constitution of the Church discovered in certain passages betwixt Mr. R. Clyfton and John Smyth, concerning the Christian Baptism of new creatures, or newborn babes in Christ, etc., referred to two propositions: (1) *that Infants are not to be baptized:* (2) *that Antichristians converted are to be admitted into the True Church by Baptism.* 1609. The only known copy is in the Bodleian.

A Replie to Mr. R Clyfton's Christian Plea, etc. 1610. Of this we can learn nothing beyond the bare mention of it in Hanbury's "Historical Memorials," i, 272.

The Last Book of John Smyth, called the Retraction of his Errours,

and the Confirmation of the Truth. 16mo., 12pp., 1611. The only known original copy is at York Minster. Reprinted in Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth."

Richard Clyfton, born about 1553, was rector of Babworth, Notts. Having been deprived for Nonconformity, he became pastor of the Separatist Church at Scrooby about 1603 or-4, and migrated to Holland with the rest of that company in 1608. He died 1613. His works are :—

A Plea for Infants and Elder people concerning their Baptisme; or a Processe of the Passages between Mr. John Smyth and Richard Clyfton. Amsterdam, 4to., 228pp, 1610. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by C Lawne and others, against the English Exiled Church at Amsterdam. 4to., 128pp., 1612. Copies in the Bodleian and the Congregational Library.

John Robinson was born 1575 or-6, probably at or near Gainsborough; matriculated at Cambridge 1592, but whether at Corpus Christi or Emmanuel College is not *quite* certain—most likely the former. He was Fellow of Corpus 1598, M.A. 1599, resigned his fellowship 1604. He ministered awhile in or near Norwich; and having been suspended by the bishop for partial Nonconformity, retired to Scrooby, where in 1606 he became associated with Clyfton in the oversight of the Separatist Church, and migrated with them to Amsterdam in 1608. The dissensions in the "Exiled Church" induced him and the Scrooby company—afterwards the "Pilgrim Fathers"—to remove the following year to Leyden, where he died 1st March, 1625. His writings were edited by Rev. R. Ashton in 3 vols. cr. 8vo., London, 1851. They are :—

An Answer to a Censorious Epistle, [by Jos. Hall] 1610. No original copy known, but reprinted by Hall in his reply to it, same year.

A Ivstification of Separation from the Church of England. Against Mr. Richard Bernard his invective Intitvled; The Separatists Schisme. 4to., 483pp., 1610. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries. Reprinted 1639, 4to., 383-5pp., copy in the Bodleian, &c.

A Letter to Wm. Ames on Christian Fellowship, written probably in 1611, is printed in C. Lawne's "Prophane Schisme of the Brownists," 1612. See below.

On Religious Communion Private, and Publique. With the silencing of the clamours raysed by Mr Thomas Helvvysse, etc.; as also, A Survey of the Confession of Fayth of Mr. Smythe's company, etc. 4to., 4-131pp., 1614. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

A Manvmission to a Manvdvction, or answer to a letter inferring publique communion in the parrish assemblies upon private with godly

persons there. 1615 (Not in the collected edition of Robinson's works). The only known original copy was in the possession of C. Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.; it was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. i., pp. 165-194.

The Peoples Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie, against Mr John Yates his Monopolie, etc. Leyden, 16mo., 10-77pp., 1618. A copy in Williams's Library; also in the Prince Library (Boston). A reprint, 1641, is in the British Museum.

Apologia Fvsta et Necessaria Qvorvndam Christianorum, aeque contumeliosa ac communiter dictorum Brownistarum, sive Barowistarum, etc. 16mo., 96pp., 1619. This Latin recension is not included in the Collected Works. There are copies in the Bodleian, New College (London), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and Prince Library (Boston).

A Defence of the Doctrine Propovnded by the Synode at Dort: Against John Mvrton and his Associates, in a Treatise intituled: A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning Man. With the refutation of their Answer to a Writing touching Baptism. 4to. 4-203pp., 1624. A copy is in the Bodleian.

An Appeal on Truths behalfe (concerninge some differences in the Church at Amsterdam). 8vo., 1624, again 1630. Copies of both editions are in the Bodleian.

Observations Divine and Morall. For the Fvrthering of knowledg, and vertue etc. 4to., 4-324 2pp., 1625. Only in the Bodleian. Another edition, same year, is entitled *Essayes: or, Observations Divine and Morall, collected out of holy Scriptures, Ancient and Moderne Writers, both divine and humane. As also, out of the great volume of mens manners: Tending to the furtherance of knowledge and vertue.* A copy of this is at Yale College, Conn. A third edition, 1628, has the title *Nevv Essayes or Observations Divine and Moral;* this is in the Congregational Library and elsewhere. Other editions with varying titles are dated 1638, 1642, 1654.

A Ivst and Necessarie Apologie of Certain Christians, no lesse contumeliously then commonlie called Brownists or Barowists, by Mr. I. R. pastor of the Eng. Chh. at Leyden, first pub. in Latin, in his and the Chhs. name over whh. he was set, after tr. into Eng. by himself, and now republished for the speciall and common good of our own Countrimen. 4to., 72pp., 1625. A copy is in the Bodleian. Reprinted in 1644.

A Treatise of the Lawfulnes of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England . . . . Printed according to the copie that was found in his studie after his decease, and now published for the common good. Together with a Letter written by the same Author, and approved by his church, etc. 12mo., 18-77pp., 1634. A copy is in the British Museum. A reprint, 4to., 1683, is not very rare.

An Abpendix to M. Perkins his six principles of Christian Religion; annexed to a reprint of the "Just and Necessarie Apologie &c," 4to., 1644. A copy is in the Bodleian.

Thomas Helwys appears to have come from Basford, Notts.; joined Smyth's company at Gainsborough, and migrated with them to Holland: adopted Baptist opinions, but separated from Smyth because of doctrinal divergences: returned to England about 1614, organized the first 'General' Baptist Church in London, and died about 1620 or 23. His works are:—

A Short and Plaine Proofe, by the Word and Workes of God, that Gods Decree is not the cause of anye Mans Sinne or Condemnation: and That all Men are redeemed by Christ; as also That no Infants are condemned. 8vo., 288pp., 1611. A copy is in the Bodleian.

A Declaration of the Faith of English people remaining at Amsterdam in Holland Heb. 11, 6, Rom. 14, 23. 16mo., 44pp., 1611. An original copy is at York Minster: it was partly reprinted in Crosby's 'History of the English Baptists,' and also among the Baptist Confessions published by the Hanserd Knollys Society.

An Advertisement or Admonition unto the Congregations which men call the New Fryelers, in the Lowe Countries, etc. 16mo., 94pp., 1611. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

A Short Declaration of the Mistery of Iniquity. 16mo., 212pp., 1612. A copy is in the Bodleian, with autograph inscription by the author.

Jean de l'Ecluse, a Frenchman, was an elder in the exiled church at Amsterdam. In 1612 he published *An Advertisement to everie godly reader of Mr. Thomas Brightman his book. Namely, A Revelation of the Apocalypse.* 4to., 16pp. The only known copy is in the Congregational Library. De l'Ecluse also translated Ainsworth's *Communion of Saints* into French. A copy (Amsterdam, 1617) is in the Congregational Library.

It seems proper here to mention a work commenced by Hugh Sanford of Coombe Flory in Somerset, completed by Robert Parker, and printed at Amsterdam in 1611. The Title is *De Descensv Domini Nostri Jesv Christi ad Inferos, Libri Qvatvor* [sic]; and the dedication "*Pastori, Senioribus, Diaconis, Patribus Ecclesiae Anglicanae quae est Amstelrodami.*" 4to., 8-213-11pp. The only copy we have heard of was in the library of Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.

The same year, 1611, an anonymous tract of 4pp. 4to. appeared, entitled *A Note of Some Things called into question and controverted in the exiled English Church at Amsterdam.* The only known copy is in the Prince Library, Boston, Mass.

To the same year belongs *Mr Henry Barrowes Platform, which may serve as a Preparatiue to purge away Prelatisme: with some other parts of Poperie. Made ready to be sent from Miles Mickleboundt to much-beloved England. Togither with some other memorable things, And a familiar Dialogue, in and with the which, all the several matters conteyned in this booke are set forth and interlaced. After the untimely death of the penman of the foresaid Platforme, and his fellow-prisoner; who*

being constant witnesses in points apperteyning to the true worship of God, and right gouernment of his Church, sealed up their testimony with their blood: and paciently suffred the stopping of their breath for their love to the Lord. Anno 1593. Printed for the yeare of better hope. 18mo., 160pp., 1611. A copy is in the British Museum.

Christopher Lawne and some others, having been excluded from the fellowship of the exiled church, became its bitter and even malignant enemies. In 1612 they published *The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists. With the Impietie, Dissensions, Levvd and Abhominable Vices of that impure Sect. Discouered by C. Lavvne, I Fovvler, C. Saunders, R Belvvard. Lately returned from the Companie of M. Iohnson, that wicked Brother, into the bosome of the Church of England, their true Mother, etc.* 4to., 8-88pp. Copies are in the Bodleian, York Minster, and a few private libraries.

Brownisme Tvrned the In-side Out-ward: being a Parallell betweene the Profession and Practise of the Brownists religion, by C. L. lately returned from that wicked Separation. 4to., 34pp., 1613. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

John Fowler, who was excommunicated with Lawne, is supposed to be the author of *A Shield of Defence against the arrows of Schisme, shot abroad by I. de l'Eclvse in his Advertisement against Brightman; with a Declaration touching a book called the Prophane Schisme, etc.* 4to., 1612. A copy is in the Bodleian.

Thomas Piggott, or Pygot, wrote *A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland: being the remainder of Mr. Smith's company. With an Appendix, giving an account of his sickness and death.* 16mo., 50pp., 1612. A copy is at York Minster; and it was reprinted in part by Barclay in his "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth."

John Murton was associated with Smyth and Helwys in Holland, returned with the latter to England, and succeeded him in his London pastorate. His reputed works are:—

Objections Answered by way of Dialogue, wherein is proued, By the Law of God, etc., that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testifie his allegiance by the Oath appointed by Law, etc. 16mo., 87pp., 1615. Reprinted 1620, 1630, 1662 (with title "Persecution for Religion judg'd and condemned,") same year with omissions, 1827, and by Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846. An original copy is in the Bodleian.

A Most Humble Supplication of Many of the Kings Majestys Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all Ciuill Obedience by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are Persecuted (only for Differing in Religion) contrarie to Diuine and Human Testimonies, etc. 1620. No original copy known; reprinted 1662, 1827, and by the Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846.

A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning Man, In his Creation, Transgression, and Regeneration. As also an Answere to Iohn Robinson, touching Baptisme. 16mo., 8-176pp., 1620. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

It would be a task worthy of the Baptist Churches in the New Century to reproduce, as completely as possible, the Whole Works of Smyth, Helwys, and Murton ; most of which are of extreme rarity.

Giles Thorpe, a printer, was Deacon and afterwards Elder in Ainsworth's congregation in Amsterdam. In or about 1616 he published *The First Parte of the Hunting of the Foxe, etc.* It is entirely lost, and only known from references by hostile writers such as Lawne and Paget.

The British State-Paper Office contains an important MS., dated 1617, entitled *Seven Artikels which y^e^ Church of Leyden sent to y^e^ Counsell of England to bee considered of in respekt of their judgments occationed about theer going to Virginia.* This was printed in the "New York Historical Collection," 1856.

John Paget, minister of the English Reformed (i.e. Presbyterian) Church in Amsterdam, wrote *An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists* : 4to., 4-476pp., 1618. Copies are in the British Museum, Bodleian, York Minster, &c. [It is an interesting fact that in 1701 the remnant of the Amsterdam Brownists were united with the church over which Paget had formerly presided.]

Wm. Brewster, afterwards the honoured Elder of New Plymouth, (born 1566, died 1643), was for a short time in business as a printer in Leyden. The works known to have come from his press, and still extant, (beside Robinson's "Peoples Plea, &c.") are :—

(*i.*) T. Cartwright (see *Trans.* I, p. 46). Commentarii succincti et Dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis, 4to., 12pp.—1514 col.—26pp., 1617. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.

(*ii.*) William Ames (see below). *Guil. Amesii ad Responsum Nic. Grevinchovii Rescriptis contracta, etc.* 16mo., 16-209-14pp., 1617. A copy is in the Bodleian.

(*iii.*) *A True, Modest, and Just Defence of the Petition for Reformation, exhibited to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, containing an Answere to the Confutation published under the names of some of the Universitie of Oxford. Together with a full declaration out of the Scriptures, and practise of the Primitive Church, of the severall points of the said Petition, etc.* 16mo., 52-240pp., 1618. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational, and some private libraries.

(*iv.*) A Reprint of R. Harrison's *Little Treatise vpon the first verse of the 122 Psalme* [orig. 1583]. 16mo., 6-82pp., 1618. A copy was in the possession of Dr. H. Martyn Dexter.

(*v.*) Reprint of *A Godly Sermon vpon the 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. and 8 verses of*

the 12. chapter of the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romanes. [Ascribed to L. Chaderton, orig. 1584.] 16mo., 62pp., 1618. A copy was in the possession of Dr. H. M. Dexter.

(*vi.*) T. Cartwright's posthumous work, *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses, and Annotations in the Newe Testament*, fol., 58-761-1618. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

(*vii.*) T. Dighton. *Certain Reasons of a Private Christian, against Conformitie to kneeling in the very act of receiving the Lord's Supper.* 16mo., 18 144pp., 1618. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's libraries.

(*viii.*) T. Dighton. *The Second Part of a Plain Discourse of an Unlettered Christian. Wherein by Way of demonstration hee shewveth vvhat the reasons bee vvhich he doth ground upon, in refusing conformity to kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper.* 16mo., 16-78pp., 1619 : a copy is in Williams's Library.

(*ix.*) W. Euring. *An Answver to the Ten Counter Demands, propounded by T. Drakes, etc.* 16mo., 6-38pp., 1619. A copy is in Williams's Library. Little or nothing is known of the author ; and nothing—except from this reply—of Drake's book, of which the Title was "*Ten Counter Demands propovnded to the Separatists, against their Seven Demands.*"

William Ames, commonly called 'The learned Amesius,' born 1576, was persecuted in England on account of his puritanism, and in 1611 fled to Holland in disguise. He had no connection with the "Exiled Church," except his business relations with Brewster. He took part in the Synod of Dort, 1618-19, and was Theological Professor at Franeker from 1622. Ten years later he removed to Rotterdam, where for a short time he shared the pastorate of an Independent Church with the much maligned Hugh Peters : he died, 1633. His works are numerous, and mostly in Latin. Only the following need to be mentioned here :—

A Manvdiction for Mr Robinson, and such as consent with him in privat communion, to lead them on to publick. Briefly comprized in a letter written to Mr R. W. Dort. 4to., 10pp., 1614. Copies in the British Museum and Williams's Library.

A Second Manvdvction for Mr. Robinson. On a confirmation of the former, in an answer to his Manumission. 4to., 36pp., 1615. A copy in the British Museum.

A Reply to Dr. Morton's Generall Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies, viz. : The Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, and kneeling at the receiving of the sacramentall elements of Bread and Wine. 4to., 10-114pp., 1622. Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

A reply to Dr. Morton's Particvlar Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies, etc. 4to., 4-71pp., 1623. The only copy of which we have heard is Dr. Dexter's.

Medvlla Theologica. 16mo., Amsterdam, 1623. Copies of this original edition in the Bodleian and York Minster. At least eight subsequent Latin editions (beside that in Collected Works, 5 vols., Amsterdam, 1658) : also an English version, entitled *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity drawn from the Holy Scriptures;* 4to., 6-338-30pp., 1642 : Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library, &c.

Animadversiones in Synodalia scripta Remonstrantivm, quoad Articulum primum, &c. 8vo., Franeker, 1629. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere.

A Fresh Suit Against Humane Ceremonies in Gods Worship. Or a Triplication about Ceremonies, Opposed vnto D. Burgesses his Reioinder, &c 4to., 1633. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational Library, and elsewhere.

Christianae Catechcses Sciagraphia. 12mo., 226pp., Franeker, 1635. A copy is in the Bodleian. Another edition, Amsterdam, same year, is in the British Museum, &c. The Congregational Library has both editions.

The historical interest of the Exiled Church declines after the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 ; and the death of Robinson and James I. within a month of each other (March (1625) conveniently marks off the Second Period of English Nonconformity. In our third article we shall notice a number of books printed in England within this period, some favourable, and a few hostile, to those Puritan principles which wrought mightily in the next generation ; also some of the earliest literary memorials of Puritan New England.

T. G. CRIPPEN

CORRIGENDA TO BIBLIOGRAPHY IN *TRANSACTIONS NO. 1.*

P. 49, Robert Browne. The oft-repeated statement that he had been domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk is clearly a mistake. The Browne who was associated with the Duke, and was implicated in the Ridolfi plot, was altogether a different person, and is said to have come from Shrewsbury.

P. 52, Barrowe and Greenwood. Dr. Powicke has given strong reasons for assigning the *Petition*, 1590, to Penry or Throckmorton ; anyway, not to Barrowe. Both Powicke and Arber think that *M. Some laid open in his coulers, 1589,* notwithstanding the I.G. attached to it, is also the work of Throckmorton.

NOTES AND QUERIES

With reference to an enquiry in the Notes and Queries in *Transactions No. 1* concerning a statement by Mrs. Gaskell, in her life of Charlotte Brontë, there is a note in the last edition of her life, edited by Mr. Shorter (1900), as follows :

> This story was very much resented by the Heckmondwike Nonconformists. Mr. J. J. Stead informs me that the Pastor of the Upper Chapel was elected in 1823 by a unanimous vote, and he remained there till his death in 1862.

The statement is quite untrue ; and although there was at one time an unhappy contention at the *Westgate* Chapel, the account which is given of it is greatly exaggerated and evidently furnished by "an enemy" ; and it is equally untrue of that Chapel "that the Riot Act had to be read at a Church Meeting."

B. D.

*

[See Notes and Queries, *Transactions No. 1.*]

According to Barclay *(Religious Societies of the Commonwealth)* Mrs. Attaway was a member of the General Baptist church in Bell Alley, Coleman Street ; of which Thomas Lamb was pastor. From Taylor's *History of the General Baptists* it appears that there were several occasional preachers in this congregation, some of whom were women. Lamb is violently abused by Edwards in the *Gangraena*. His life is given by Brook ; but I cannot learn anything more about Mrs. Attaway. I should place her date about 1645.

*

Can anyone give any information about Katharine Chidley, who in 1641 wrote a *Justification of the Independent Churches* in reply to Edwards ? Could she be the mother of Samuel Chidley, who in 1651 wrote, "from his mother's house in Soper Lane," a remonstrance against hanging of thieves ? Edwards speaks of her as an *old* woman.

T. G. Crippen.

*

Salopian Notes.—In a copy of the *Life and Writings of..... Mr. James Owen, Minister of the Gospel in Salop* (London: 1709), which

is in the possession of a friend of mine, there are some MS. notes by a former owner, which seem to me worth transcribing for what they possess of local interest. Above the engraved portrait of James Owen is the line "This is not drawn like him." On the title page is the following :

> "John Powel 1700 who came to Shrewsbury (not a year after Mr. Owen) fro[m] Wellington but stay'd there after his death, Dr. Benion's, and Mr. Talents's, who survived him, and [? labour'd] there and at W.—hampton and Birmingham till 1738. But notwithsta[n]d-[ing] the Helps of these able Ministers how little the better and how little longing after that Bright and Blessed World whither such Useful Ministers are gone. And as I am yet spar'd and have yet more time may I fill it up with serving God and my Generation according to his Will ; Amen."

On p. vi., after the signature of John Evans "To the reader," he has written:—

> "that I heard preach at Shrewsbury, when he was chaplain at Boreatton, and promis'd well y^n as he perform'd after at London, while he liv'd, or rather y^e Grace of God in him."

This was Dr. John Evans.

Of James Owen's two brothers he writes : "The eldest brother had a son call'd Jeremiah y^t I knew brought up by his uncle at Shrewsbury. The 3rd brother and youngest is Charles, long Mr. at Warrington ; and preach'd at Birmingham July 1735" (p. 2.)

Again, in p. 5, in connection with the name of Samuel Jones of Brynll[y]warch, this note is given :

> "Whose daughter married one of her fathers pupils, Mr. David Jones (son of a freeholder near Chirk castle, an old disciple), who was in his younger years observ'd by his schoolfellows to be very serious, and approv'd himself for many years in Shrewsbury."

These brief fragments may help some local historian of early Independency. They are transcribed letter by letter, any addition being placed in brackets.

H. Elvet Lewis.

Hon. Members marked *H*, Life Members marked *L*.

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Allan, W. G., Rev., M.A.
Andrews, H.T.,Rev.,Prof.,M.A.
H Atkinson,S.B.,Esq.,B.Sc.,LL.B
Avery, J., Esq.
Amery, P. F. T., Esq.
Amery, J. T., Esq.
Barrett, G. S., Rev., Dr.
Bartlet, V., Rev., Prof., M.A.
Bragg, A. W., Esq.
Bragg, Mrs.
Brown, J., Rev., Dr.
Brownen, G., Esq.
Bax, A. Ridley, Esq.
Brownson, G., Esq.
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Cocks, J., Esq.
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L Dove, S. E., Esq.
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H Ebbs, A. B., Esq.
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H Evans, R. P., Esq.
Evans, A. J., Esq., M.A.
Evans, Jon. L., Esq.
Evans, G Eyre, Rev.
Fea, J. T., Esq.
Flower, J. T., Rev., M.A.
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H Horne, C. Silvester, Rev., M.A.
L Hounson, W. A., Esq.
Humberstone, W. J., Rev.
Huckle, Attwood, Esq.
Hollack, A., Rev., M.A.
Hodgett, C. W., Esq.
Harris, W. J., Esq.
Handley, W., Esq.
Hewgill, W., Rev., M.A.
H Johnston, W., Esq.
Jones, J. D., Rev., M.A., B.D.
Knibbs, C., Rev., F.R.H.S.
Knowles, S., Rev.
H Lanc. Ind. College, Rev. C. Goodyear
Le Brun, E., Esq.
Lester, E. R., Esq.
Lovatt, J., Esq.
H Low, G. D., Rev., M.A.
Lewis, H. Elvet, Rev.
Lovett, R., Rev., M.A.
Luke, R., Esq.
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McCrae, A., Esq.
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Pearson, M. R., Rev.
Phillips, J., Rev.
Pierce, W., Rev.
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Reskelly, C. J., Rev.
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Ridge, A. J., Esq.
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Scullard, H. N., Rev., M.A.
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Tuck, W., Esq.
Turner, G. L., Rev., M.A.
Thorpe, F. H., Esq.
Wallace, Hugh G., Rev.
Wicks, G. H., Esq.
Williams, Mrs.
H Williams, E. Pascoe, Esq.
H Wilkinson, W., Esq.
Windeatt, E., Esq.
Wing, Lewis, Esq.
Woods, W. J., Rev., B.A.
H Webster, I., Esq.

Robert Browne
and his "Treatise of Reformation."

INTRODUCTION.

THE tract, now for the first time printed in England, is that most popularly associated with the name of Robert Browne. It does not, as is commonly supposed, enunciate the theory of Congregational Independency; but it affirms a higher and more comprehensive principle, that of the mutual independence of Church and State. It seems desirable to prefix a short biographical notice of the author; who, besides being loaded with obloquy by opponents, has had the strange fortune of being repudiated by many of his most consistent disciples.

The family of Browne was for many generations among the most prominent in the town of Stamford, whither their ancestor came from Calais about the middle of the fourteenth century. Several of them held the chief magistracy of the borough; one of them founded a hospital—still existing—for decayed tradesmen; another built the church of All Saints; and two served as sheriffs for the county of Rutland. The second of these, Francis Browne, had a brother Edmund, who married Joan Cecil, aunt of William Cecil, Lord Burghley; and each of the brothers had a son Anthony, a fact which has led to some genealogical confusion. Anthony, the son of Francis, had seven children; of whom the third, Robert, was born at Tolethorpe, about two miles from Stamford, at some uncertain date between 1550 and 1556. Of his childhood and early education nothing is known, but in 1570 we find him at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There is no record of his matriculation; and he may have removed from some other college to Corpus when the Puritan Thomas Aldrich was elected Master. He graduated B.A. in 1572, being placed 18th in the list. Strype affirms that in 1571 he was domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk; and that being cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for some offensive speech, he was supported by the Duke in disregarding the citation, on the ground that the occasion was privileged. But the story is unlikely: Browne's age at the time cannot have exceeded 21, and may have been only 18. Probably the Brown of Strype's narrative was a Shropshire man, who was soon afterwards implicated

in the Ridolfi conspiracy. After leaving Cambridge, Browne was occupied for about three years in teaching children : first in some public school, and, after being dismissed from that post, for some time privately. Strange to say, neither by himself nor by any reliable authority is the place of his tutorial labour indicated ; but there is some reason to think it was Southwark. During this time he is said to have lectured in Islington, presumably to an irregular assemblage ; this, however, is very uncertain. An outbreak of the plague induced him to give up his school : and he returned to his father's house, probably in the autumn of 1578. He then went back to the University ; and resided for a while with the family of Rev. Richard Greenham, of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge, who encouraged him to preach in the village, though without episcopal authorisation. He also preached in Cambridge for about half a year ; but by this time had become convinced that prelatic ordination and license were objectionable, if not actually sinful. He therefore declined a proposal that he should accept a regular pastorate in Cambridge, returned the money that was offered him by way of stipend, and destroyed the bishop's license which had been procured for him. He then began to speak openly against calling and licensing of preachers by bishops, and against the whole parochial system. He was thereupon inhibited by the bishop, and, falling sick, ceased his ministrations in Cambridge ; declaring however, that, but for his infirmity, he would have wholly disregarded the bishop's inhibition.

On the recovery of his health, Browne removed to Norwich ; residing with Robert Harrison, master of a hospital in that city, with whom he had formerly been acquainted in Cambridge. These, and a few others likeminded, constituted themselves into a religious fellowship in which they endeavoured to realise their ideal of an Apostolic Church. Former societies of Lollards, Baptists, &c., had no doubt been *practically Congregational* : but this Norwich fellowship was *Congregationalist in principle*, and thus the first really Congregational Church known to history. This was in 1580. Browne, and probably others of the fellowship, preached and taught not only in the city, but in several parts of the diocese, especially at Bury St. Edmund's ; and their views found considerable acceptance. Persecution followed as a matter of course, and Browne was more than once imprisoned. On 19th April, 1581, Freak, Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Lord Burghley concerning Browne, who, he says, had been sent out of the diocese, but returned, and was at the time evidently in custody. Two days later Burghley replied, requesting lenient treatment for his kinsman, as one who erred "of zeal rather than of malice." Again in August Freak complained of the disturber, urging Burghley to aid in effectually suppressing him ; and again Burghley intervened on his behalf. But the little company perceived that religious freedom in England was at that time hopeless ; and in the autumn of 1581 they migrated to Middelberg in Zeeland.

Here, within the next few months, the most important part of Browne's life-work was accomplished. In the "Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of All True Christians" he expounded the theory of Congregational Independency; in the "Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for Anie" he set forth the incompetence of the magistrate either to reform or control the church; in the "Treatise upon the 23rd of Matthew" he dealt with anti-reforming authorities in a style scarcely less trenchant than that of Martin Marprelate. The works were published separately, but the two latter were evidently designed to be prefixed to the first in a single volume. They were all printed at Middelberg in 1582, and found appreciative readers in England. In June of the following year a Royal Proclamation commanded the destruction of all copies of "the same or such like sedicious bookes or libels"; and earlier in the same month Elias Thacker and John Copping were hanged at Bury St. Edmund's for distributing them. Certainly their offence was aggravated by their avowal that "they believed all things in those books to be good and godly"; and that they "acknowledged Her Majesty chief ruler civil, and no further." Church and State had long contended for the mastery, and Becket, More, Fisher, and others, had laid down their lives in the cause of ecclesiastical domination; but the "Brownists," Thacker and Copping, may fairly be claimed as the first English martyrs for religious liberty.

Some time before this Browne had married Alice Allen, from Yorkshire. Nothing is known of her, beyond a hint that she was to some extent the cause or occasion of the unhappy dissension which broke out among the exiles at Middelberg. However, there were differences of judgement and personal alienations, perhaps the inevitable result of an attempt to realise an ideal Christian society without regarding the infirmities of human nature. In consequence the society broke up; Harrison and some of the members joined the English church of which the Puritan Cartwright was pastor, while Browne and a few others took ship for Scotland. Cartwright had written a letter urging that they should strive for further reformation of the Church from within, rather than incur the responsibility of separation; to which Browne published a reply, insisting that in the State Church godly discipline was impossible; but it is thought that this "Answer to Master Cartwright" was not issued till the following year.

Browne arrived at Dundee towards the end of 1583, and, after visiting Andrew Melville at St. Andrew's, took up his abode in Edinburgh in January, 1584. He at once began to circulate his books, and was promptly summoned before the Kirk Session. As he declared that neither himself nor his comrades were subject to the discipline of the Scottish Kirk, he was committed to prison. After a short time he was released, and seems to have travelled somewhat widely in Scotland; but was in London in July. The events of the next sixteen months are obscure. Within that space of time he had evidently published

his autobiographical "True and Short Declaration," and another tract of which the title is lost, but of which extracts are preserved in Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, 9th February, 1588. It seems clear that he had striven, in and about London, to proclaim the faith that was in him, especially as to a purer discipline than is possible in the English or any other State Church; that his health was impaired; that he was arrested by the Bishop of London; and that he endured a lengthened imprisonment. Burghley once more intervened in his favour, and in October, 1585, he was committed to the friendly custody of his father at Tolethorpe. After about four months the elder Browne was unwilling to be responsible for his son's good (*i.e.*, submissive) behaviour; and asked leave for him to reside in Stamford, where he would be more directly under Burghley's supervision. This was granted; but in the spring of 1586 he seems to have gone to Northampton, where he resumed the teaching of his unpopular doctrines. Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, cited him to answer for this renewed offence; and Browne, refusing to appear, was formally excommunicated for contempt.

It has been seriously alleged that this excommunication reclaimed Browne from his "Schism"! As if *any* spiritual censure from an Erastian prelate could have the slightest moral influence on the author of the "Treatise of Reformation" and the "Book which Sheweth, &c." But when it is remembered that in those days a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* left its victim only the option of submission or perpetual imprisonment, we need not pass too severe a judgement on a husband and father who, after seven years' conflict with authorities ecclesiastical and civil, desisted from what might seem a hopeless battle.

The date of Browne's submission is uncertain: but in November, 1586, he was appointed Master of St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark. This school had been founded in 1560, and constituted a Free Grammar School in 1571. The terms of his appointment were sufficiently humiliating; he was required to sign an engagement not only to conform to the doctrine of the Established Church, communicate at convenient times, and accompany the children to sermons and lectures; but also to teach none but the regulation catechism, keep no conventicles, and have no conference with suspected or disorderly persons. He does not appear to have observed the spirit of these conditions very closely. He certainly wrote an "Answer to Stephen Bredwell his first booke against Brownists," which first book was only published in 1586; and he seems to have attended a "conventicle" as late as 1588.

But indeed by this time he began to shew signs of that mental infirmity which beclouded his later years. He had become irascible and impatient of contradiction; and his antagonist Bredwell, who evidently knew him, and was a physician, wrote in 1588 "Browne is sound, his brain is sick." Yet he regularly attended to his tutorial duties, was indeed an educational enthusiast, and about this time wrote a book

—never printed, and now totally lost – which must have been a kind of Circle of the Sciences. By his own account it seems to have been tinged with that strange conceit afterwards known as Hutchinsonianism, the notion that the germs of all sciences are contained in Holy Scripture. In a strange letter to Burghley, undated, but endorsed 1590, he complains of the neglect of this treatise, and asks permission to read public lectures. The letter is among the Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum, and was printed by Strype; it is evidently the effusion of a disordered mind. But the disorder thus far only amounted to eccentricity: and in June, 1589, Burghley sent him to the Bishop of Peterborough with a letter, asking the bishop "to receive him again into the Ministry, as a means and help for ecclesiastical preferment." It is noticeable that Browne is thus recognized as a disabled clergyman; yet there is no proof that he had ever been episcopally ordained, and a strong presumption to the contrary.

In the autumn of 1591 he resigned his Mastership, and was presented by Burghley to the rectory of Achurch with Thorpe, a small Northamptonshire village of which the population can scarcely have exceeded a hundred, but which afforded a comfortable income. Here six of his children were born; and here he ministered, with some intermissions, for not less than forty years.

Though thus in some sense reconciled to the Established Order, it is pretty certain—indeed it was openly said in his lifetime—that Browne retained his own opinion about the true conception of the Church. He would not admit that the term was rightly applied to a parish assembly, or to the ecclesiastical department of the State. He expressed his views on the matter in a bad pun: "There was no Established Church in the kingdom but his, and that was A-Church." As to the scandalous stories that were told of him, they seem to be mere exaggeration either of quite harmless incidents, or of such as proceeded (as Dexter has clearly shewn) from intermittent insanity. He was a great lover of music, played well on the lute, and his eldest son Timothy (probably born at Middelberg) used to play a bass viol in church. This would seem to the rigid Puritan Baillie quite enough to mark him as "an open profaner of the Sabbath." More serious is the charge that he was "a common beater of his poor old wife," but as Alice Browne died in 1610, seven years after the birth of her youngest child, she cannot have been *very* old—probably between 50 and 55. A lady well known to the present writer had unclouded happiness in her married life, until her husband, suddenly and without cause, gave her a severe beating. A few days after he was taken to a lunatic asylum, where he died without ever regaining his reason. A similar incident in the case of Browne might well give rise to the current story. Fuller's assertion that "In my time he had a wife with whom he never lived, &c.," is almost certainly untrue: Fuller was but two years old when Mrs. Browne died, and there is no indication of a second marriage.

During his whole incumbency—with one long intermission—Browne

kept the parish register with scrupulous care. There are upwards of 500 entries, mostly in his very clear handwriting. Yet, here and there, his mental disorder is betrayed by odd remarks, sometimes irrelevant, sometimes spiteful. And for nearly nine years, September 1617 to June 1626, the entries are in other hands; the most natural explanation of which is that he was secluded or incapable. The latest appearance of his handwriting is dated 2nd June, 1631: and the last sad scene was not long delayed. A constable called on him respecting a debt; an altercation ensued, in course of which he struck the man. For this he was brought before a magistrate, who was convinced by his strange behaviour that he was not fit to be at large. There was then no county lunatic asylum, so he was committed to Northampton jail. The distance is above twenty miles; and the old man, being both feeble and very corpulent, was conveyed thither in a cart, a feather bed being provided for his comfort. He never left the jail, but died there at some uncertain date before November, 1633. The place of his burial is doubtful, but an old tradition specifies a large uninscribed stone at the entrance of the chancel at Achurch.

Browne had three sons—two of whom were married: and four daughters, who all died young. It is probable, though not certain, that he had one or two other children born between 1585 and 1591. Four of his grandchildren were married, and lived at Achurch, Uppingham, St. Saviour's, and Dartford respectively; and it is quite possible that, in one or other of these neighbourhoods, his posterity may still survive.

Historians who ought to have known better have joined in the chorus of reproach against Browne: apparently because he accepted the retreat provided by the friendship of Burghley, instead of courting the martyr's death with Barrowe and Penry. One has even spoken of "the ample legacy of his shame"! There is shame, indeed, but it rests on those who persecuted him to madness: while for him there is the lasting honour of having first enunciated the principle of "A Free Church in a Free State"; a principle which, universally repudiated in his lifetime, is to-day accepted by four-fifths of English-speaking Christendom.

A TREATISE OF REFORMATION WITHOUT TARYING FOR ANIE, AND OF THE WICKEDNESSE OF THOSE PREACHERS WHICH WILL NOT REFORME TILL THE MAGISTRATE COMMAUNDE OR COMPELL THEM.

{ MIDDELBURGH, 1582.

BY ROBERT BROWNE.

SEEING in this Booke wee shewe the state of Christians, and haue laboured also in good conscience to liue as Christians, It is maruailed & often talked of among manie, why we should be so reuiled and troubled of manie, & also leaue our countrie. *Forsooth* (say the enimies) *there is some hidde thing in them more then plainly appeareth: for they beare euill will to their Princes Queene* ELIZABETH *and to their countrie, yea they forsake the church of God, & condemne the same, and are condemned of all, and they also discredit & bring into contempt the Preachers of the Ghospel.* To aunswere them, we say, That they are the men which trouble Israel, and seeke euill to the Prince, and not we. And that they forsake and condemne the Church and not we. First concerning our faithfulnesse to our Prince and Countrie, and what our iudgement is of the ciuil authoritie, we aunswere as appeareth in this Treatise. For their other accusations and slaunders of forsaking and condemning the Church, &c. if our doings will not stoppe their mouthes, nor this booke which followeth of the state of Christians, we purpose by the grace of God, to shewe in an other booke, which shall hereafter come foorth, whether we or they be the rebellious children and a false seede. But for the Magistrate, howe farre by their authoritie or without it, the Church must be builded and reformation made, and whether anie open wickednesse must be tollerated in the Church because of them, let this be our aunswere. For chieflie in this point they haue wrought vs great trouble, and dismayed manie weakelings from imbracing the trueth. We say therefore, and often haue taught, concerning our Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, that neither the Pope, nor other Popeling, is to haue anie authoritie either ouer her, or ouer the Church of God, and that the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, whose kingdome ought vtterlie to be taken

away. Agayne we say, that her Authoritie is ciuil, and that power she hath as highest under God within her Dominions, and that ouer all persons and causes. By that she may put to death all that deserue it by Lawe, either of the Church or common Wealth, and none may resiste Her or the Magistrates vnder her by force or wicked speaches, when they execute the lawes. Seeing we graunt and holde thus much, howe doe they charge vs as euill willers to the Queene? Surelie, for that wee holde all those Preachers and teachers accursed, which will not doe the duties of Pastors and teachers till the Magistrates doe force them thereto. They saye, the time is not yet come to builde the Lordes House [Hag. 1.], they must tarie for the Magistrates and for Parliamentes to do it. They want the ciuill sworde forsooth, and the Magistrates doe hinder the Lordes building and kingdome, and keepe awaye his gouernement. Are they not ashamed thus to slaunder the Magistrate? They haue runne their owne swordes vppon the Wall and broken them, and nowe woulde they snatche vnto them the Magistrates sworde. In deede can the Lordes spirituall gouernement be no waye executed but by the ciuill sworde, or is this the iudgement that is written [Psal. 149.], Such honour shall be to all his Saintes? Is this to binde the Kinges in chaines, and the Nobles with Fetters of Iron, by the highe actes of GOD in their mouthes, and a two edged sworde in their handes? Those bandes and chaines, which is the spirituall power of the Church, they haue broken from them selues, and yet woulde they haue Magistrates bounde with them, to beginne Discipline. They would make the Magistrates more than Goddes, and yet also worse then beastes. For they teache that a lawefull Pastour must giue ouer his charge at their discharging, and when they withholde the Church gouernement, it ought for to cease, though the Church goe to ruine thereby. Beholde nowe, doeth not the Lordes kingdome giue place vnto theirs? And doe they not pull downe the heade Christe Iesus [Col. 1. 18], to sett vppe the hande of the Magistrate? yea and more than this, for they firste proclaime the names and tytles of wicked Bishoppes and popishe officers, and the Lordes name after: Seeing also the Bishoppes must discharge the lawfull Preachers, and stoppe their mouthes, though the Lorde God haue giuen them a charge for to speake, and not to keepe silence. The Lorde hath exalted Christe Iesus [Phil. 2], and giuen him a name aboue euerie name, that all thinges should bowe and serue vnto him, and yet haue they exalted the power of wicked Bishoppes aboue him. Beholde a great and moste wholesome riuer, and yet their pudle water is preferred before it. Except the Magistrates will goe into the tempest and raine, and bee weather beaten with the haile of Gods wrath, they muste keepe vnder the roafe of Christes gouernement. They must bee vnder a Pastorall charge: They must obeye to the Scepter of Christe, if they bee Christians. Howe then shoulde the Pastor, which hath the ouersight of the Magistrate, if hee bee of his flocke, bee so ouerseene of the Magistrate, as to leaue his flocke, when the Magistrate shall uniustlie

and wrongfullie discharge him. Yet these Preachers and teachers will not onelie doo so, but euen holding their charge and keeping with it, will not guide and reforme it aright, because the Magistrates doo forbidde them forsooth. But they slaunder the Magistrate, and because they dare not charge them as forbidding them their dueties, they haue gotten this shift, that they doo but tarie for the Magistrates authoritie, and then they will guide and reforme as they ought. Beholde, is not all this one thing, seeing they lift vppe the throne of the Magistrates, to thrust out the kingdome of Christe? For his gouernment or Discipline is wanting (saye they) but wee keepe it not awaye. And who then? For moste of them dare not charge the Magistrates, but onelie closelie, and with manie flatterings, that they might still be exalted by the Magistrates. They leaue their owne burthen, and crie out that it is not caried by faulte of the Magistrate. So they make them enimies, because they saye they withholde the Church gouernement: euen enimies doo they make them to the Lordes kingdome and righteousnesse: and why then do they not wage that spirituall battell against them, whiche is to cut them of from the Church? For the Scepter and kingdome of Christ is not of this worlde, to fight with dint of sworde, but it is a right Scepter, which subdueth the people vnder vs, and Nations vnder our feete. [Psal. 47., Psal. 45.] Hee iudgeth the wicked, and by the rebuke of his worde, he filleth all places with the slaine, and smiteth the Heades ouer great countries. [Psal. 110.]

Now then if the Magistrates be enimies vnto the Lords kingdome, why are not these men better warriars to vpholde the same? For they giue vp the weapons of their warfare into the enimies handes, and then say, they can not doo withall. By their weapons I meane those whereof Paule doeth speake, [2 Cor. 10.] that they are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe holdes, and so foorth: These weapons haue they giuen from thē, for they haue not the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen to binde and lose, [Mat. 18., Iohn 20] and to retaine or pronounce remitted the sinnes of men, seeing they graunt much open wickednesse incurable among them, and also auouche that it must needes be suffered. Yea they haue given vp these keyes to the Magistrates or to the Spirituall Courtes, and therefore haue no right to call them selues the Church of God, or lawfull Pastors thereof. Christ is at the right hande of God, gone vp into heauen saieth Peter [1. Pet. 3.] to whom the angels and powers and might are subiecte, howe then shoulde his kingdome tarie for the Magistrate, except they thinke that they are better able to vpholde it then he. Yea we must presse vnto his kingdome not tarying for anie, as it is written in Luke [Luke 16.], & againe in Matthew [Mat. 11.], the kingdome of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it vnto them by force. In the throng which is made to escape a burning, would they tarie for the Magistrate to make them a waye, and should they not rather if they could, make a way for the Magistrate? They see that the kingdome of God is with strife (?) and great labor, and yet they will haue it with ease and the

ciuill sworde must get it them. Ierusalem (saieth the Prophete) [Dan. 9.] and the streetes and Wall thereof, shall be built euen in a troublous time, and to tarie till it be built without troubles, is to looke for a conquest without going to battell, and for an ende and rewarde of our laboures which would neuer take paines. My kingdome, saith Christe, is not of this world, and they would shift in both Bishoppes and Magistrates into his spirituall throne to make it of this worlde; yea to stay the Church gouernement on them, is not onely to shift but to thrust them before Christ. Yet vnder him in his spirituall kingdome are [1. Cor. 12.] first Apostles, secondlie Prophetes, thirdlie, teachers &c. Also helpers and spirituall guides: But they put the Magistrates first, which in a common wealth in deede are first, and aboue the Preachers, yet haue they no ecclesiasticall authoritie at all, but onely as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians. Therefore hath God made these teachers fooles, and these spirituall professours as madde men. For woe unto you, ye Priestlie preachers and Doctours hypocrites, which are a snare to the people, and fill vp their measure of iniquitie, while ye pretende the Magistrates authoritie. For will anie man else giue ouer his calling, or abridge the full execution thereof, when the Magistrates forbid them, will they cease the teaching or due guiding of their householdes and charge for their dischargings, and should the labourers in Gods spirituall husbandrie giue ouer and ceasse. For it is Gods husbandrie [1. Cor. 3.] and not theirs, the Church is his building and not theirs. They are but members thereof if they be Christians, and are not anie way to stay the building, neither is it to tarie or wait vpon them. But these wicked preachers eate vp and spoyle the Lords haruest them selues, and then set open the gapp, as though the Magistrates brake in like wild bores, and spoiled the harnest. They say, beholde we haue a Christian Prince, and a mother in Israel: but can they be Christians, when they make them to refuse, or withstand the gouernement of Christ in his Church, or will not be subiect vnto it. If they therefore refuse and withstande, howe should they be taried for? If they be with them, there is no tarying: and if they be against them, they are no Christians, and therefore also there can be no tarying. For the worthie may not tarie for the vnworthie, but rather forsake them, as it is writtē [Actes 2.], Saue your selues from this frowarde generation: and cast not pearles before Swine, nor holy things vnto dogges [Matth. 8]: and rebuke not a skorner sayeth the wise man [Prouerb. 9.], least he hate thee: and inquire who is worthie, sayeth Christ [Mat. 10.]. He that will be saued, must not tarie for this man or that: and he that putteth his hande to the plowe, and then looketh backe, is not fitt for the kingdome of God [Luke 9.]. Therefore woe vnto you ye blinde guides, which cast away all by tarying for the Magistrates. The Lorde will remember this iniquitie, and visite this sinne vpon you. Ye will not haue the kingdome of God, to go forward by his spirit, but by an armie & strength for sooth [Zacha. 4.]: ye will not haue it as Leauen hidde in three peckes of

meale, till it leauen all [Matt. 13.], but at once ye will haue all aloft, by ciuill power and authoritie: you are offended at the basenesse and small beginnings, and because of the troubles in beginning reformation, you will doe nothing. Therefore shall Christ be that rocke of offence vnto you, and ye shall stumble and fall, and shall be broken, and shall be snared, and shal be taken. You wil be deliuered from the yoke of Antichrist, to the which you doo willinglie giue your neckes, by bowe, and by sworde, and by battell, by horses and by horssemen [Hosea 2.], that is, by ciuill power and pompe of Magistrates: by their Proclamations and Parliamentes: and the kingdome of God must come with obseruation [Luke 17.], that men may say, Loe the Parliament, or loe the Bishoppes decrees: but the kingdome of God shoulde be within you. The inwarde obedience to the outwarde preaching and gouernement of the Church, with newnes of life, that is the Lordes kingdome. This ye despise. Therefore shall ye desire to see the kingdome of God, and shall not see it, and to enioye one day of the Sonne of man, and ye shall not enioye it. For ye set aloft mans authoritie abone Gods, and the Preacher must hang on his sleeue for the discharge of his calling. In the 32. of Iob, doth not Elihu holde his authoritie, and durst not account of mannes authorising, though learned, wise and aged, yea the Elders or Fathers of the Church, neither would he spare either Iob or them, or submitte him selfe to them in respecte of his calling. I will receiue no mans person, saieth he, and I will vse no title (or preface) before man, for I knowe not to vse tytles, If I vse them a little, he would take me awaye that made me. But these men name them selues, some the Bishoppes Chaplaines, some my Lordes Chaplaines, and some the Queenes Chaplaines, and call them their Masters, to whom their calling and ministerie must serue at commandement. Thus the Lordes spirituall message must be beautified with these tytles of men, (*The right Honorable my Lorde. &c. who is my very good Lorde and Maister,*) Yet Christe him selfe saieth [Mat. 11.], that the Preachers nowe in his kingdome, haue greater authoritie than Iohn Baptist, and Iohn Baptist greater then the Prophetes before him. Therefore if Ieremie was set ouer the Nations & ouer the Kingdomes, to plucke vp and to roote out, and to destroye and throwe downe, to builde and to plante [Ierem. 1.], Then haue we also an authoritie against which if the Kings and Nations doo sett them selues, we maye not be afraide of their faces, nor leaue our calling for them. Howe long therefore will these men take the inheritance from the right heire, and giue it unto the seruaunt? For the spirituall power of Christe and his Church, and the Keyes of binding and losing, they take from Christe, and giue to the Magistrate. The Magistrates haue the ciuill sworde, and least they should strike them therewith, they giue them the Ecclesiastical also. Hoe say they, If we were Prophetes, or if we were Apostles, then shoulde we preache though the Magistrate forbidde us, but wee are but bare Pastors or Preachers, and therefore we must feare their frowning and threates, and keepe silence thereat. But let

them speake, Had not the Magistrates, as full and the same power ouer Apostles, as ouer other Pastoures, or were Apostles more exempted from their obedience to Magistrates, then other Preachers? For let euerie soule be subject to the higher powers, saieth the scriptures [Rom. 13.]. Therefore as they coulde not displace, nor discharge Apostles from their office & calling, no more can they doo lawfull Pastours and Preachers: for whether it be right in the sight of God, to obeye men rather then God, let all men iudge [Actes 4.]. But to this they aunswere, that Peter saied this, being an Apostle: But in deede muste Apostles onelie followe their calling, though menne doo discharge them, and may not other doe it likewise? For as God hath distributed to euerie man the gifte (saieth the Scripture) [1. Cor. 7.] as the Lorde hath called euerie one, so let him walke, and so ordained Paule in all the churches. If then the Magistrate will commaunde the Souldiour to be a Minister, or the Preacher to giue ouer his calling, and chaunge it for an other, they ought not to obeye him, for they haue not the gifte, and God hath called them this way rather then that. Yet if the Magistrate call one of a lower calling to an higher, to the which he is fitt and prepared, he ought to obeye, for God hath calleth [*sic*] him thereto. And in all thinges wee must firste looke, what is the Lordes will and charge, and then what is the will of man. For we are bought for a price, saieth Paule, [1. Cor. 7.] and we may not be seruauntes to the vnlawfull cōmaundings of men. And this freedome haue all Christians, that they consider what is lawfull and what is profitable, what they may doo and what is expedient [1. Cor. 6.], and in no case bee brought vnder the power of anie thing, as Paule teacheth vs [1. Cor. 10.]. What soeuer doth most edifie, that must we chuse, and auoide the contrarie: and what soeuer is most expedient, that must be done, and so we must applie our selues all vnto all, that notwithstanding we holde our libertie. For if either Magistrate or other would take that from vs, wee must not giue place by yeelding vnto them, no, not for an houre [Galat. 2.], and this libertie is the free vse of our callings and guiftes, as we see most agreeing to the worde of God, and expedient for his glorie. Therefore the Magistrates commaundement, must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetie, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So thē it is an abuse of my guifte and calling, if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach, yea & woe unto me, if I preache not, for necessitie is laied vpon me, and if I doe it unwillinglie, yet the dispensation is committed vnto me [1. Cor. 9.]. And this dispensation did not the Magistrate giue me, but God by consent and ratifying of the Church, and therefore as the Magistrate gaue it not, so can he not take it away. In deede if God take it away for my wickednesse and euill deserte, he may remoue me from the Church, and withholde me from preaching: but if God doo it not, and his worde doeth approue me, as most meete for that calling, I am to preache still, except I be shut vp in prison, or otherwise with violence withhelde from my charge. For the

Magistrate so vsing me cannot be a Christian, but forsaketh the Church: and howe then should my office in the Church depende on him which is none of the Church? And the welfare of the Church must be more regarded and sought, then the welfare of whole Kingdomes and Countries, as it is written [Isa. 43.]: Because thou wast precious in my sight, and thou wast honourable and I loued thee, therefore will I giue man for thee, and people for thy sake. And againe he saieth, I gaue Egypt for thy raunsome, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. The Lorde shall therefore iudge these men, and cut them of both heade & tayle, braunch and rushe in one day. The auncient and the honorable men, which take on them to put downe the Lordes authoritie, and to stoppe the mouthes of his messengers, they be the heade, and the wicked teachers which exalte men aboue God, they are the tayle. They are afrayde of the face of the Magistrate, & do flatter and currie fauour with them, and they would have vs also to doo the like. But ye the Lords faithfull seruauntes trusse vppe your loines as Ieremie [Iere. 1.], which in your charges have greater authoritie than Ieremie, as we proued before. Arise and speak vnto them, all that I commaunde you, sayeth the Lorde. For I, beholde I haue made you as defenced cities, and yron pillers, & walles of brasse, against the whole lande, against the Kings and against the Princes, against the Priestes and against the people. For they shall fight against you, but they shall not preuayle, for I am with you to deliuer you euen to the ende of the worlde. Therefore yee vanishe in vanity yee wicked Preachers: for knowe ye not, that they which haue their full and sufficient authoritie and calling, are not to tarie for a further authorising. And hath not euerie lawfull Pastor or Preacher his full authoritie? Are they not to teach the whole will of God, and guide accordinglie, and haue they not then their whole authoritie? For herein was Paule free frem the bloode of all menne [Actes 20.], because he had kept nothing backe, but hadde shewed them all the counsell of God. But (say they) Paule taught them in deede the whole counsell of God, and so maye wee, but we may not gouerne: we may tell the Magistrates, that gouernement is wanting, but we may not take vppon us, to be reformers. In deede, did not Paule both in worde and deede testifie his faithfulnesse, did he not in practise as well as in wordes, fulfill his calling? For (sayeth he) you knowe my maner of life: and addeth further, that in seruing the Lorde, he kept backe nothing that was profitable. [Act. 20. 18, 19, 20.] Howe then shoulde hee keepe backe the gouernement of the Church, whiche is all in all. And in the 35. verse, he setteth himselfe for example, for I haue sheweth you all thinges, saieth hee, how that so labouring, ye ought to supporte the weake. Noting that hee sheweth in worde and example, not that onelie, but all thinges else, for due guiding of the Church. And therefore let them not flee to their odde distiction of ordinarie and [and] extraordinarie, as though Paule might guide the Churche without tarying for the Magistrate and wee may not. For Paule set downe him selfe for an

example: and in the 28. verse, and in the 31. he applieth all vnto them, that they shoulde followe him, that they shoulde watche night and daye in teaching and guiding the flocke as he did. Yea they must not onelie preache, but teache them the practise. They muste obserue and doo all thinges which Christ hath commaunded. [Matth. 28.] And the Lorde did not onelie shewe them the Tabernacle, but badde them make it [Exod. 25.]. But these menne will not make it at all, because they will tarie for the Magistrate. Christe is before vs and his Apostles: as Moses a figure of Christe was before them, and yet we must tarie for the Magistrates. And for what Magistrates? For those of our charge, trowe ye, or for those which are none of our charge? Muste wee not in all thinges looke duelie to our charge, and let them goe which are none of our charge? For wee shall not giue accounptes vnto God for them which are out of our charge. For we must take heede to our selues, sayeth the Scripture [Act. 20.], and to all the flocke whereof the holie Ghoste hath made vs ouerseers. But these men teach, that we must let our charge alone, and lay from vs the gouernement thereof, for their sakes which are none of our charge. Shal not these men be hurled out of their place and charge, whiche thus doo mocke with the Lord, and dallie with their charges? Yea the Lord shall take them awaye with a swifte destruction, and menne shall clappe their handes at them and hisse them out of their places. Euerie Preacher must runne to the Queene and to the Counsaill forsooth, as though they were of their charge, and the Magistrates must plant & reforme al Churches at once. If they be of their flockes, why should they tarie for thē? vnlesse they will have the sheepe to force the sheepehearde vnto his dutie. In deede the Magistrate may force him, but it is his shame to tarie till he be forced. Be ashamed therefore ye foolish shepheardes, and laye not a burthen on the Magistrates, as though they should do that in building the Lordes kingdome, which the Apostles and Prophetes coulde not doo. They could not force Religion [Song 8.], as ye woulde haue the Magistrate to do, and it was forbidden the Apostles to preache to the vnworthie, or to force a planting or gouernement of the Church [Mat. 10.]. The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strēgth [Zach. 4., Hosea 2.], as be the kingdomes of this worlde. Neither durst Moses, nor anie of the good Kings of Iuda force the people by lawe or by power to receiue the church gouernement, but after they receiued it, if then they fell awaye, and sought not the Lorde, they might put them to death. For the couenaunte was firste made, as it is written [2. Chro. 15], they made a couenant to seeke the Lord God of their fathers, with all their harte, and with all their soule. And then followe the next wordes which are to be vnderstoode of thē which made the couenaunt, for of them which so sware vnto the Lorde, whosoeuer did not seeke the Lorde God of Israel, should be slaine, whether he were small or great man or woman. And therefore did the whole congregation of Israel gather them together, to warre against the children of

Reuben and Gad, because they seemed to forsake the couenaut [Ioshu. 22]. Yet woulde not Hezekiah fight against Israel, though they laughed him to skorne and mocked at his doings [2. Chro. 30.], for they had not receiued the couenaunt, but their forefathers, and they were nowe called to the couenaunt againe, which the Lorde had disannulled with their forefathers: as it is written [2. Chro. 15.], that for a long season Israel had bin without the true God, and without Prieste to teache, and without lawe. Nowe therefore let the wise vnderstande these things, and the Lorde be mercifull, and deliuer vs from these vnreasonable and euill men. For there is no ende of their pride and crueltie which ascende vp and sit in the Magistrates chaire and smite the people with a continuall plague, and such of them as haue not yet gotten the roume, do crie for Discipline, Discipline, that is for a ciuill forcing, to imprison the people, or otherwise by violence to handle and beate them, if they will not obeye them. But the Lorde shall bring them downe to the dust, and to the pitt, as abhominable carkasses, which would be aboue the cloudes, yea which dare presume into the throne of Christe Iesus, and vsurpe that authoritie and calling in his Church, which is opposed and contrarie to his kingdom and gouernement. This shall appeare afterwarde: In the meane time let them knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte. They shall come vnto Zion and inquire the way to Ierusalem [Ierem. 50.], not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: yea as the hee goates shall they be before the flocke, for the haste they haue vnto Zion, and they them selues shall call for the couenaunt, saying, Come and let vs cleaue faste vnto the Lorde in a perpetuall couenaunt that shall neuer be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes kingdome: as it is written againe [Ierem. 51.], Remember the Lorde a farre of, and let Ierusalem come into your mindes, for they see the fierce wrath of the Lorde, where the Lordes kingdome is not, and they flee from the same going and weeping as they goe, as the Prophete saieth [Iere. 51.], because he hath bin angrie so long. But nowe they haue escaped his displeasure, they goe on and stande not still till they appeare before the Lorde in Zion [Psal. 84.]. Yea and the Lords people shall come willinglie in the day of his assemblies, euen his armies in holie beautie [Psal. 110]. Yet the frowarde wilbe frowarde still, for (say they) Moses and the kinges of Iuda did reforme the Church, and they were taried for, therefore we also must tarie for our Magistrates. Beholde nowe howe the shame of their faces doeth testifie against them, which dare against their consciences, make our Magistrates prophetes with Moses, yea high Priestes as he was and figures of Christ, as both he was and the Kings of Iuda also. How boldelie also dare they peruert the trueth, affirming that some which ought to reforme, did it not, because they would tarie for Moses or for the Kinges of Iuda. For did Zacharie (say they) or the Prophet Haggaie, builde of them selues, and not rather call on the ciuill Magistrates and tarie for them? But they knowe not (as men that are willinglie ignoraunt) that their building of

the Temple stoode in outwarde furniture of timber, stone, cariage, and therefore had neede of the helpe of Zerubabel the Prince: but our spirituall prouision, as the guiftes, callings, and graces of the Church neede not anie worldlie preparation in such outwarde cerimonies. Therefore we aunswere, that Zerubabel being a figure of Christ, as appeareth in Zacharie the 4. he was to be chiefe in the worke. Neither were they in that worke as ciuill Magistrates now a dayes, but as Spiritual guides, representing Christe and his spirituall kingdome. Neither did Haggaie or Zacharie tarie for the Magistrates, but went before them, for in the name of God they commaunded them to builde, and the text sayeth further [Ezra 5.], that they ioyned with them and helped them. So that neither by worde nor deede they taried and were behinde: yea when the King (whose subiects they were) commaunded them to cease, they refused to giue ouer the building. This appeareth in Ezra 4. 23. and in Ezra 5. 1. And before also [Hag. 1. 2., Hag. 2. 15.], because they ceased and lingered the building, for that the Magistrates were against them, they were sharpelie reproued of Haggai, and it was a most grieuous curse vnto them. Yet dare these menne laye sinne vpon the Prophetes, as tarying & lingering for the Magistrates. And wherefore ? Forsooth they did not hewe timber, and carie stones first of all to further the worke. But in deede, were they not firste when they commaunded and the other obeyed, and when they ioyned with them & helped them ? For otherwise might Salomon also not to be saied to builde the Temple, but to tarie for others, because he him selfe brought not the stones, neither hewed them, but commaunded others (as the text sayeth) [1. Kin. 5. 17] and they obeyed and brought great stones, and costlie stones to make the foundation of the house. But if Zacharie or Haggai had taried, it proueth not that we must tarie for our Magistrates. For both Iehoshua the high Prieste, and Zerubbabel the Prince, were figures of the high priesthoode and princedome of Christe, and also had an ecclesiastical gouernement ouer the Church, which our Magistrates haue not. And further also, euerie lawfull Preacher at this time hath that authoritie of building Gods Church equall with Zerubbabel and Iehoshuah, or rather superior, for they are compared with them, as the 11. of the Reuelation, and the 4. of Zacharie will testifie, and in the 11. of Matthewe, and the 3. to the Corinthes the seconde Epistle, they are preferred afore them. We knowe that Moses might reforme, and the iudges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates: yea they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuilie, and as ciuile Magistrates, that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the Church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outwarde Iustice, to maintain the right welfare and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment, & ciuil forcing of mē. And therfore also because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge: that is concerning the outward prouision and outward iustice,

they are to look to it, but to cōpell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical gouernement by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as is proved before, neither yet to the Church. Let vs not therfore tarie for the Magistrates: For if they be christiās thei giue leaue & gladly suffer & submit thē selves to the church gouernemēt. For he is a christian which is redeemed by Christ vnto holines & happines for euer & professeth the same by submitting him self to his lawes & gouernmēt. And if they be not christians, should the welfare of the church or the saluatiō of mens soules, hang on their courtesie? But they aske how we proue that Moses and the kings of Iudah & the Iudges before thē, were figures of Christ. They know it true, & dare not denie it, & yet to quarrel & trifle with the trueth, they must haue it proued. Yea they charge vs as Anabaptistes & denying Magistrates, because we set not vp them, nor the Magistrates aboue Christ Jesus and his glorious kingdome. How often haue we proued by word & writing these matters. For the Scepter shal not depart frō Iuda, saith the Scripture [Gene. 49.] nor a law giuer frō betwene his feete, vntil Shiloe come. By these wordes Iacob did prophesie, that one should take the spiritual kingdom & be Lord thereof, namelie Christ Iesus, and euer more one of the tribe of Iuda & house of Dauid, should foreshew the same as in figure, & sit also in the throne of iudgemēt, to declare it more liuelie, and that the throne of Dauid and the raigne of his children did so signifie, the Scripture declareth, as it is written [Isa. 16.], In mercie shall the throne be established, & he shal sit vpon it in stedfastnes in the Tabernacle of Dauid, iudging and seeking iudgement and hasting iustice. And again it is written [Psal. 45.], In steade of thy fathers shal thy children be, whom thou shalt make Princes throughout all the earth. And this is spoken of the posteritie of Salomon, which as figures of Christ, were Lords of the world, though their dominiō in worldly wise was not so large. For all that Psalm is to magnifie the kingdome of Christ which is his church, which was prefigured by Salomon & his posteritie, and by the mariage of Salomon, which shadowed the church & the childrē thereof. And againe it is writtē [Isa. 9.], that Christ shall sit vpō the throne of his father Dauid, and vpon his kingdom, to order it & to stablish it with iudgement and with iustice for euer. Wherefore was it called the throne of Dauid & his kingdom, but because in a cōtinual course it shadowe out the kingdom of Christ till his cōming. Therefore also are Dauid, Salomon, Iehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Iosiah, and others, set downe in the Scripture as figures. Yea and the euill kings of Iuda, though not in their wickednesse, yet in that authoritie and calling whiche they shoulde haue rightlie vsed were figures.

For they all had their entrance at the East gate of the Temple, at the which the people might worshippe, but not goe in [Ezek. 46.]: they might pray for the people, and by their sacrifices attonement might be made: as it is writtē [Psal. 20.], Let him remember all thine offerings, and turne thy burnt offerings into Ashes. And againe, Saue Lorde, let

the King heare vs in the daye that we call. Yea all those Kings were to looke to the Temple, to the building and restoring thereof when it was decayed, as did Iehoash, Iosiah, Hezekiah, and others.

Let them looke the 4. of Zacharie, the thirde of Hosea, and 5. verse, the 33 of Ieremie, and manie other places, especiallie in the Psalmes, and they shall finde Dauid and his children after him, in the throne of iudgement to foreshewe the comming of Christ. And if the high Priestes and Kings of Iudah in their spiritual ministration were glorious [Zacha. 4.], because they figured Christ Iesus, & for the glorie of their office were cõpared to two Oliue trees, and two golden Candlestickes [Reuela. 11.], Then also must their ministration be glorious, to whom God shall giue power in these latter dayes to be his witnesses. For they also stande before the God of the earth, as it is written Reuel. 11. And if anie man, whether Magistrate or other, would hurt them, the fire of their message proceedeth out of their mouthes, and deuoureth their enimies. Therefore is their authoritie of God and not of man, and much lesse doeth it depende on man, or on the Magistrate. For vpon what man did the authoritie of Moses depende? yet Paule affirmeth [2. Cor. 3.], that the ministration of the spirite committed to all faithfull teachers at this time, exceedeth in glorie the ministration by Moses and the Prophetes before time. Yea the Church hath more authoritie concerning Church gouernement then Magistrates, as it is written [Isa. 45.], They shall followe thee, and shal goe in Chaines: they shall fall downe before thee, and make supplication vnto thee. For who knoweth not, that though Magistrates are to keepe their ciuill power aboue all persones, yet they come vnder the censure of the Church, if they be Christians, and are openlie to humble them selues in vnfained repentaunce, when they haue openlie and grieuouslie trespassed. They are in deede to keepe their Royal dignitie, yet keeping that they are to abase them selues vnto God before the face of the Church. For all powers shall serue and obeye Christ, saieth the Prophete [Isa. 60.]: and that kingdome and nation which will not also serue his Church (for so is the text) shall perishe, and the Nation shall be vtterlie destroyed. And the daughters of Tyrus, saieth the Psalmist [Psal. 47.], with the riche of the people, shall do homage before thy face with presentes. And further it is writtē in Isai: Euerie tounge that shal rise against thee in iudgement, shalt thou condemne, this is the heritage of the Lords seruauntes, and their righteousnes is of me, saieth the Lorde [Isa. 54.]. But all this would the aduersaries shift of, with this aunswere, that concerning outwarde policie we must tarie for the Magistrate: See howe they grope for the wall, as menne without eyes. For when wee speake of spirituall power and authoritie in the Church, doo we speake of ciuile policie, trowe ye? So then they condemne them selues least wee should doo it, that the spirituall power and Ecclesiasticall reformation, must proceede without tarying, but to redress things ciuilie, the ciuile Magistrate must meddle, and none is to take his authoritie from him. For we knowe that when Magistrates haue bin most of all against the

Church and the authoritie thereof, the Church hath most florished. Woe to you therefore ye blinde Preachers and hypocrites: for ye spreade a vaile of darkenes vpon the people, and bring vpon them a cursed couering, because by your policie you hide them vnder the power of Antichrist, and keepe from their eyes the kingdome of Christe. The Lordes kingdome must waite on your policie forsooth, and his Church muste bee framed to your ciuill state, to supplie the wantes thereof: and so will ye chaunge the Lordes gouernement, and put your deuises in stead thereof: but his shalbe alwayes the same, when yours shall chaunge with your wittes, his lawes shall alwayes abyde whē yours shal turne in your hoodes, his hath the same offices, but yours haue newe and renewed offices [Ex. 25. 29, 40., Mat. 28. 20., 1 Tim. 6. 13.]. Goe to therefore, and the outwarde power and ciuil forcings, let vs leaue to the Magistrates: to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice, belongeth to them: but let the Church rule in spirituall wise, and not in worldlie maner: by a liuelie lawe preached, and not by a ciuill lawe written: by holinesse in inwarde and outwarde obedience, and not in straightnesse of the outward onelie. But these handsome Prelates, would haue the Mase and the Scepter in their handes, and then hauing safetie and assurance by a lawe on their sides, they would make a goodlie reformation.

Beholde the Lorde hath seene this their villanie, and he hath made them despised and vile in the sight of the people. They haue refused knowledge, and the Lorde hath refused them, they shall beare no more the name of his message.

Of their wicked aunswere, that they can not remedie things, and therefore they will tollerate.

Beholde, the Lorde hath cast dunge on their faces, euen the dunge of their solemne feastes [Mala. 2.], as of their Christmasse, and Easter, and Whitsuntide, and of all their traditions, receyued from Baal. For in their solemne meetings, then doeth their iniquitie most woefullie appeare. And they haue said plainlie (as in the days of Malachie) [Mala. 1.] the table of the Lorde is not to be regarded. For though hogges and Dogges come thereto, yet who can redresse it: or why should the Communion be counted polluted vnto vs? Thus they pollute my name saieth the Lorde, and yet they say Wherein haue we polluted thy name? In that ye suffer such wickednesse amongest you, saieth the Lorde, and say also that it is sufferable, and can no way be remedied. O goodlie teachers, which eate vp the sinne of the people, and devoure seelie soules whyle they wil tollerate forsooth: For by tolleration, they make vnlawfull things lawfull: and by a protestation they iustifie all iniquitie. In deede they be euill say they, but yee must beare with them, for there is no remedie. So not onelie they practise and vse them them selues, and drawe on others by their wicked example, but also commaunde and teache all men the like, yea hate and persecute all those which stande not with them. O notable Protestantes, which both witnesse euil & do the same. Darkenes hath certainlie couered vs, and grosse

darkenesse hath filled vs, that we could not hitherto espie this great follie. For no wickednesse is tollerable, except for the hardnes of mennes hartes, we yeelde them vp to their wickednesse. For the Lordes way sayeth the Scripture [Isa. 35.], is holy, and no polluted shall passe by it. And againe it is written [Isa. 60.], That the Lordes people (he speaketh of the Church) shal be all righteous, that is, no open wickednesse shal so shew it selfe in the Church, that it shoulde be incurable. For either the parties which offende, shalbe separate, or else they shalbe reclaymed by due admonition. And therefore the Church is called the house of the liuing God, the piller and grounde of trueth [1. Tim. 3.]. For by the due order therein, Religion and holinesse is vphelde, and all heresies, euill maners, and wicked examples put awaye. If then anie open wickednesse must needes be suffered, it is suffered in those which are none of the church: as it is written [1. Cor. 5.], What haue I to doo to iudge them which are without, doe yee not iudge them which are within? for God iudgeth them which are without. Knowe ye not (saieth the Scripture) that a little leauen leaueneth the whole lumpe. Howe then shall we suffer but a little wickednesse, whiche indeede is not little if it can not be remedied. Yea Paule [1. Cor. 7.] would not bee brought into bondage of the least thing that is, and it is horrible iniquitie to be seruauntes to men, that is, when we are bought for so great a price to glorifie God as his free men, that we should be made seruaunts to menne to suffer their wickednesse. Goe to therefore yee tolerating Preachers, this you get by your tolerating, to haue no name amonge the righteous, nor to be of the bodie of the Church. For Ierusalem is called a citie of trueth, and the mountaine of the Lorde, the holie mountaine [Zacha. 8.]. But ye are vnholie, in that ye saye, some pollutions can not bee clensed awaye, but muste needes be suffered among you. And this is a certaine trueth, that where anie open disorder is incurable, there is not the Lords Zion, to the which he is turned to dwell therein: that is, they are not the Lordes Church, ouer whom he doeth raigne to shewe his kingdome and gouernement. For the Lordes kingdome is not as mannes, and his rule in his Church is not the rule of man. Man is not able to reforme al things, and in the common wealthes manie thinges are suffered. But in the Church, though hypocrites which are called the tares, can not bee rooted out, yet no open disorder shall so spreade it selfe, that it can not be remedied. Else should not the Church be called the pillar and ground of trueth, the Lordes resting place, his holie habitation, his kingdome and glorious renowne. Therefore doth Paule call [1. Cor. 5.] that part of church gouernement, which is to separate the vngodlie, the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ. For thereby are the Kings bounde with chaines, and the Nobles with fetters of yron [Psal. 149.], that they may execute vppon them, the iudgement that is written, Such honor bee to all his Saintes. And in deede this is a great honour we haue, as Paule sayeth [2. Cor. 10.], that though we walke in the fleshe, yet we warre not after the fleshe. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe

houldes, casting downe the imaginations, and euerie high thing, that is exalted against the knowledge of God, & bringing into captiuitie euerie thought to the obedience of Christ. So then there is nothing which the Lorde will not breake, if it be against his glorie, neither anie wickednes which the gouernement of his Churche is not able to put downe. For the Scepter of Christ is a right Scepter [Psal. 45.], hee will keepe in awe his people in this life, and put aparte from the vnrulie: he shall be Iudge among the Heathen, and fill all with dead bodies, and smite the heades ouer great Countries [Psal. 110.], and after this life he hath made readie the last vengeance against all disobedience, when the obedience of his people is fulfilled. Howe then dare these menne teache vs, that anie euill thing is tolerable in the Church, as though the church gouernement could not remedie it: yea and so tolerable, that all men should be brought into bondage thereby: yea into so foolishe bondage that they should protest a thing to be euill, and so thinke they are excused to practise the same.

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

No. 3.] [JULY, 1902.

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ERRATUM.

Page 139, last line.

Dr. Forsyth's initials should be P. T., not D. F. as printed.

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The Congregational Historical Society

Meeting in the Memorial Hall, London.

The second Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Board Room, Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, May 14th, 1902, at 3 p.m.

The chair was taken by the President, Dr. J. D. McClure, and the meeting opened with prayer, offered by the Rev. J. OGLE.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. The SECRETARY then presented the report, which shewed that the membership had increased, and now stood at one hundred and twenty-five.

A second issue of *Transactions* was published last autumn, and a third is now in the press. The autumnal meeting at Manchester had proved a great success, and arrangements were made for a similar meeting at Glasgow. The adoption of the report was moved by the Rev. BRYAN DALE, and seconded by Mr. T. E. GRICE, and carried.

The TREASURER'S statement shewed a balance of £84 0s. 2d. £42 of this, however, consisted of the subscriptions of life members, and should, therefore, be largely held in reserve On the Treasurer's suggestion that an auditor should be appointed, Mr. J. MINSHULL kindly offered to act in that capacity, an offer which was gladly accepted. Mr. Minshull was thanked for his generosity.

The Officers were re-appointed with the addition of the Rev. T. G. Crippen as Assistant Secretary. The name of Mr. P. Howard Silcock, B.A., Maidstone, was added to the Committee. After an interesting discussion on the work of the Society the meeting was closed with prayer, offered by Rev. D. F. FORSYTH, D.D.

Dr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Members' Contributions		
61 at 5/-	15 5 0	
1 at 10/-	10 0	
10 at 21/-	10 10 0	
1 at 42/-	2 2 0	
2 at 105/-	10 10 0	
1 at £21	21 0 0	
		59 17 0
1 at 21/-		1 1 0
		£60 18 0

Cr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Secretary, Stamps, Stationery, &c.	3 12 6	
Printing	2 16 3	
Cheque Book	2 6	
	6 11 3	
Balance at Bank	54 6 9	
		£60 18 0

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1902.

Dr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance brought forward		54 6 9
Members' Contributions		
95 at 5/-	23 15 0	
1 at 10/-	10 0	
15 at 21/-	15 15 0	
1 at 20/-	1 0 0	
2 at 105/-	10 10 0	
1 at £21	21 0 0	
		72 10 0
Donation		3 0
Sales		3 3 4
		£130 3 1

Compared with Cash Book and Vouchers and found correct.
May 21st, 1902. (*Signed*) JOHN MINSHULL.

Cr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Printing & issuing		
Transactions (1)	19 14 11	
„ (2)	23 6 4	
		43 1 3
Report of Manchester Meeting		1 19 8
Stamps and Incidentals		1 2 0
		46 2 11
Balance at Bank		84 0 2
		£130 3 1

(*Signed*) W. H. STANIER,
Treasurer.

Lists of the Early Separatists

IT is a well-known story that on June 19, 1567, a company of persons "to the number of a hundred," holding a religious service at Plumbers' Hall, in the city, under "pretence of keeping a wedding," was surprised by the Sheriffs. Eighteen or nineteen were taken and sent to the Compter ; and next day eight were brought up for examination before Bishop Grindall and other ecclesiastical commissioners. The names of these eight were :—

List I.

Boweland, Thomas	Nixson William
Hawkins, Robert	Roper [*John*]
Ireland, James	Smith John
Morecraft Richard	White William

[See *Remains of Archbishop Grindall* (Parker Society) pp., 201-216.]

2. As to this company three mistakes have been made, in supposing, viz. : (1) that it was a lineal representative of John Rough's congregation broken up nine years before ; (2) that it was "separatist" in the sense of Independent ; (3) that those arrested did not regain their liberty till April, 1569. There is more than enough to expose mistakes one and two in the evidence of the prisoners ; the third is discovered by the following :—"Persons found together within the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in the house of James Tynne, Goldsmith, the fourth day of March, $156\frac{7}{8}$" viz. :—

List II.

MEN

1 Andertone James, Distafe Lane
2 Bonde Robert & his wife, St Gyles at Ludgate
3 Boulte[*n*] John, St Martins
*4 Bowllande Thomas, Temes St
5 Bowyer Myghell, Mark Lane
6 Burdbye Edwd[e] & his wife, St Gyles at Ludgate
7 Burrie Edde, More Lane
8 Cottingham Wylliam, Distaff Lane
9 Edwardes Jone, Aldermanbury
10 Evanes Jone, Holborn

11 Golddinge Markes, Smithfield
12 Goldinge Symonde, do
13 Grenne Wyllm & his wife, Holborn
14 Hancoke Thomas, Aldersgate St
15 Harysone Thomas (*place illegible*)
*16 Irelande James, Checker allye in Southwark
17 Johnsone John, Bishopsgate St
18 Kynge John, Islington
19 Knowles John, St Benet
20 Leonarde John & his wife, Holborn
21 Ludburte Thomas, Little Wood St
*22 Marcrofte Richd & his wife, Aldersgate St
23 Nycholls Roger, St Martins in the field
*24 Nyxson Wylliam, Queenhithe
25 Partridge Randall, Old Fish St
26 Poorke Christofer, do
27 Rodggers Samuel, Smithfield
28 Rypplye Lawrance, Aldgate
29 Sclyforde Rowland, London Stone
*30 Smythe John, Distaff Lane
31 Speker Garrete, St Clementes Parish
32 Strynger Jone, St Andrewes Undershafte
33 Todde Robart, Dysstafe Lane
34 Tomlyne Wylliam, Charterhowse Lane
35 Waterhowse Androwe, Dowgate
36 Wayddye George, Flyt Streete
*37 Whighte William, Jones St
38 Wylld's Bryane, Charterhowse Lane
39 Yonge Wylliam, Temes St

WOMEN

1 Appletaste Alis, Sowthewarke
2 Bamford Eliz^e^, Bowe Lane
3 Bawdwynne Katheren, Aldersgate Strete
4 Browne Margerye, Burder Lane
5 Buggburte Ellene, Hart St
6 Carye Anys, St Gyles at Ludgate
7 Esccoote Elyne, St Bennetes Parishe
8 Fawkener Eliz, St. Androwes-under-shafte
9 Gylte Eliz^e^, Lyttell Wod Stret
10 Hassellwode Katheren, Berebynder Lane
11 Hassellwode Alis, Paternoster Rooe
12 Hawkes Annys, St Antonyes
13 Holtore Cycellye, Aldersgate Strete
14 Jones Margarete, St Myghells in Cornwell
15 Langtone Eliz^e^, Swethen Lane

16 Langtone Elizᵉ, Algate
17 Lacye Annys, Aldersgate Strete
18 Lyttellcoate Annys, Hoggesdone
19 Phyllipes Anne, St Thomas Apostels
20 Phennyx Eliz, St Marye Overies
21 Ropper Annys, St Androwes-under-Shafte
22 Rowles Annys, Holborne
23 Sawyer Margarette, Temes Strete
24 Sclake Elizᵉ, St Gyles at Ludgate
25 Smythe Annys, Dysstafe Lane
26 Stockes Margarette, Aldersgate Strett
27 Staltone Annys, Cornwell
28 Turner Elizᵉ, More Lane
29 Vanes Alis, In the Tower
30 Vennye Margerye, Bred Strette
31 Vennye Mawdelyne, do
32 Whighte Katheren, Ludberye
33 Wrighte Annys, Barmesaye Streete

[See S. P. Dom: Eliz: xlvi., 46.]

Among these 72 names—or 77 counting the wives—are found six of the men examined on June 20, 1567 (marked *)—all, in fact, except Robert Hawkins and John Roper. And, of course, if the leaders had been let go, it is reasonable to infer the release of the rest.

A noticeable name, occurring for the first time, is that of John Boulton, afterwards pilloried along with Robert Browne as an apostate.*

* See Ainsworth's *Counterpoyson*, p. 39.

3. Seven of the women appear to have been retained, and thirteen or fourteen of the men. Subsequent arrests increased the latter to twenty-four; and then, "after a year's imprisonment" all were discharged at the instance of Bishop Grindall*, and by a warrant from him to the Governor of Bridewell dated April 22, 1569.

* Grindall's *Remains*, p. 317.

List III.

*1 Anderton James
*2 Benson John
*3 Bolton John
*4 Bowland Thomas
5 Colman Christopher
6 Hawkins Robert
7 Hawksworth Roger
8 Hynckesman Walter
*9 Ireland James
10 King [*Richard*]
*11 Lacye Alexander
12 Langton Richard
*13 Leonard John
14 Lydford Thomas
15 Nayshe John
*16 Nykson William

17 Roper [*John*]	21 Turner William
*18 Smythe John	*22 Waddye George
19 Sparrow Robert	*23 Wight William
*20 Todd Robert	24 Yates Robert

Besides 7 (un-named) women.

[*Lansdowne MSS.*, xii., p. 68.]

Here we meet again with seven of the eight examined by Grindall, only that Robert Hawkins takes the place of Richard Morecraft. John Bolton, too, has not yet come to the end of his endurance.

4. At this time the company, of whom these 31 may have formed the majority, looked for spiritual guidance and oversight to two preachers, William Bonham and Nicholas Crane, who had also been some time in prison, and "afore their enlargements" were licensed by Grindall to "keep a Lecture" on the strict understanding that they eschewed all private conventicles. The bishop's evident intention was that they should be free to preach only in certain authorised churches, and that there only should they perform baptism or marriage—though apparently he did not forbid them doing so "according to the word and order of the Geneva Book." But both preachers and people construed the case otherwise. They seemed to think that the bishop had given them leave to meet, preach, baptize, or marry in private houses. Thereupon he recommitted Bonham to prison and banished Crane from his diocese. And when the people submitted a formal complaint to the Privy Council, Grindall was so incensed that he advised that "all the heads of this unhappy faction should be with all expedition severely punished to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable."*

* See *Remains* pp. 316-319, January 4, 1569/70. In view of the promise made by Bonham and Crane (see p. 318) it is not easy to excuse their action.

5. In the mournful days which followed some at least of the congregation became organised into a church with Richard Fitz as minister, John Bolton as elder, and Thomas Bowland as deacon. Minister and deacon died in prison; the elder chose rather to lose his life by seeking to save it. Others shared the same fate as Bowland and Fitz: one Giles Fowler is mentioned, and Randall Partridge. (see List ii, 25.) Bowland must have passed the last 3 years of his life mostly in prison (see Lists i, ii, & iii); evidently a man of unflinching spirit! Of Fitz the one visible remnant is half a page of black-letter declaring the **Trewe markes of Christes Churche.* What of the rest? Not a few may have been among the "great multitude" confined in the Gatehouse, Bridewell, the

[* S.P.D. Eliz: addenda, XX 107 i.]

Counters, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea and the White Lion ; others shew up bravely among the 27 names subscribed to a "supplication" of the Privy Church which came out—addressed to the Queen—in 1571, and beginning: "O Englande, if thou returne, returne unto me saythe the Lord."

List IV.

Men	Women
1 Awbyn James	1 Abraham Joane
2 Burre Edye	2 Balfurth Eliz :
3 Davy Jhon or John	3 Cole Sara
4 Fox Abraham	4 Evance Annes
5 Haies George	5 Fox Constance, Whitechappell
6 Kinge John	6 Hall Annes [Streate
7 Leonarde Jhon or John	7 Havericke Joane
8 Sparowe Harry	8 Hill Elizabeth
9 Tilmans Martin	9 Ireland Joane
10 Thomas John or Jhon	10 Leanordes Elize
11 Weston Jasper	11 Mayer Mary
	12 Race Mary
	13 Rumney Eliz :
	14 Slacke Eliz :
	15 Stokes Helene
	16 Wever Mary

[S.P.D. Eliz: addenda, XX 107. On sheet 107, ii, is a "Declaration" by some member of the same church (I take it)—black-letter ¾ page.]

Comparing this with List ii we find five names in common, Edde Burrie, John Kinge, John and Elizabeth Leonarde and Elizabeth Slacke. Comparing it with iii, only one name common to both is found, John Leonarde : but we cannot doubt that there was a family relationship between John Kinge (Lists ii & iv) and Richard King (List iii) ; Joane Ireland (List iv) and James Ireland (List iii) ; Helene Stokes (List iv) and Margarette Stockes (List ii) ; Robert Sparrow (List iii) and Harry Sparowe (List iv). The Sparrows and Kings respectively may have been brothers ; perhaps Margaret was a sister of Helene Stokes ; and one thinks of Joane as the courageous wife of James Ireland, now dead or pining to death in prison.

All the signatures, it should be noted, are autographs set down across the sheet in more or less sprawling fashion—mostly illiterate in character (as one might expect)—and in some cases written with the prefix "by me." No address is given except that of Constance Fox, in "Whitechappell Streate," and no precise date. But mention of "the 13th year of" the Queen's reign assigns it to 1571.

Of one man, William White, the chief spokesman before Grindall, (see Lists i, ii, iii) we have information from another quarter. On January 18, 1573, he was examined before the Lord Chief Justice, and was brutally handled. He had then been in prison "two years." He begged justice—at least "a copy of" his "presentment."

L. C. J. "You shall have your head from your shoulders; have him to the Gatehouse."
White. "I pray you to commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house."
L. C. J. "No, Sir, you shall go thither."
White. "I have paid fines and fees in other prisons; send me not where I shall pay them over again."
L. C. J. "Yes, marry, shall you; this is your glory."
White. "I desire no such glory."
L. C. J. "It will cost you twenty pounds, I warrant you, before you come out."
White. "God's will be done." *

* See Neal i, 280-3, note. He is described as a "substantial citizen of London." See, also, his letter to Grindall (Dec. 19, 1568) quoted by Waddington, *Historical Papers* 1st. Series, p. 9.

6. We make a leap of 15 years and come to this—a list of 21 Brownists examined on the 8th day of October (Sunday), 1587, in the Bishop of London's Palace, Fulham, and "called for being at private conventicles this day in Henry Martin's house, in St. Androwes-in-the-Wardrobe."

List V.

* 1 "Crane, minister, made by Bishop Grindall when he was Bishop of London; and before that he was a student in law in the Inns of Chancery. He saith that all the book (meaning the Common Prayer book) is not Gospel."
2 Henry Martin of the same sect.
* 3 George Smalls do
* 4 Edward Boyes do
5 Anne Jackson do
* 6 George Collier do
7 Catherine Onion
8 Robert Lacy—of Gray's Inn, gentleman, of St. Andrews in Holborn—of the same sect—he refuseth to take the oath
9 Thomas Freeman—of the parish of St. Botulph without Aldersgate—of the same sect—Brownist
*10 Edith Burroughs—of Stepney
*11 Mr John Greenwood, preacher, deprived of his living in Norfolk about 2 years past, taken at the said Private conventicle in Martin's house, he is committed to the Clinke

*12 Margaret Maynard of Bread St—she saith there is no Church in England, she hath not been at Church these ten years, committed to Bridewell
*13 Alice Roe—widow—of St. Andrews-in-the-Wardrobe
14 Agnes Wyman of Stepney
*15 Robert Griffith of the same sect
*16 John Chandler of Stepney, of the same sect
17 Edmund Tomson of Stepney, of the same sect
*18 Henry Tomson of Stepney, of the same sect
19 Robert Redbourne } servants to Mr Boyes of the parish of
20 Thomas Russell } St. Brides, in Fleet St.
21 Peter Allen, servant to Mr Allen a Salter, of the parish of St. Botolph's nr Billingsgate"

[S.P.D. Eliz: cciv 10.]

All these are new names except that of (Nicholas) Crane. After his expulsion from the diocese of London he presently reappears with Bonham as one of the ministers who erected a presbytery at Wandsworth (in Nov. 1572)*—a sure sign that neither he nor Bonham had at that time reached the Congregationalist position.

* Neal i, 266

Robert Lacy (related to the Alexander Lacy of list iii?) is interesting as the friend whom Barrow offered for "bail" at his first examination. With nine others he was, it would seem, set at liberty. The remaining eleven (marked with an *) were kept close prisoners, and are found in our next list which internal evidence places 19 months later—in May or June, 1589. It is entitled "The names of sundry faithful Christians imprisoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." There are 26 names, and those additional to the eleven already given are as follows:—

List VI.

1 Badkin Robert, "bailed by Master Young." (Newgate).

2 Barrow Henry, arrested six weeks after Greenwood, committed for 24 weeks to the Gatehouse, and then to the Fleet along with Greenwood. (In the Fleet).

3 Bromell William, prisoner 12 months. (Bridewell).

4 Bryghte George, "committed from Newgate sessions by the Recorder of London for commending a faithful Christian which was there indicted"—died in Wood St. Counter. (Counter, Wood St.).

5 Chandler Alice, wife of John, bailed by Master Young. (Newgate.)

6 Clarke (*John* ?)* (Counter, Wood St.). "committed by the constable for saying they did evil to enforce Master Legate without a warrant."

* See List X, (21).

7 Denford William, "close prisoner." (Newgate).

8 Frances John, prisoner 10 months, having a wife and children. (Newgate).

9 Jackson Roger (or Robert), "taken out of his bed from his wife in the night." (Counter, Poultry).

10 Jackson Roger (or Richard), died in Newgate. (Newgate).

11 Legate Thomas, dragged to prison "out of his bed in the night time." (Counter, Wood St.).

12 Purdye John, "cast into 'Little Ease,' the 'Mill,' and beaten with cudgels in 'Bridewell,' for refusing to hear the Priest of that house." (Bridewell).

13 Roper Christopher (Counter, Poultry). { List ii, Annys Roper and *cf.* List iii, *John* Roper

14 Smythe Quyntin, "taken from his labour, cast into the dungeon with irons, his bible taken from him." (Newgate).

15 Studley Jerome, prisoner 15 months "having a wife and six children, and nothing but his labours in his calling to sustain them." (Counter, Poultry).

[Harl: MS., 6848, fol. 2[a], 2l. Reprinted by Arber in *Introductory Sketch to the Marprelate Controversy*, pp, 38-40.]

Of the previous eleven John Chandler "having a wife and eight children" has died in prison (the Poultry-Counter); Robert Griffin (or Griffith) has been "bailed being very sick"; Alice Row and Margaret Maynard (aged widows) have died of the "infection" of Newgate; so has old Nicholas Crane, "a man of 66 years having a wife and children." The rest have now lain in prison 19 months since the Lord's day when they were committed by Aylmer "for hearing a portion of Scripture in a friend's house read by" Mr. Greenwood. Of the more recent prisoners, Jackson (10) has also died.

Deducting the "deceased" (six) and the "bailed" (three), there were then 17 actual prisoners at this date—May or June, 1589. Lists VII & VIII.

But by February 25, 1590, the number has risen to 52—as appears from the list which Aylmer, Bishop of London, sent, with a "Brief of the Positions holden by the new sect of Recusants," to the London preachers whom he required to visit the prisoners for conference.

About the end of March of the same year the sufferers sent a petition to the Lord Treasurer (Burghley), and added a list of the

prisoners, living and dead, which was evidently meant to be exhaustive. This has 59 names of prisoners still alive, while the "deceased" now number ten—*four* having died within the last 9 or 10 months, viz :

Thomas Stephens (otherwise unmentioned).
Henry Tomson (see Lists v, vi).
Jerome Studley (see List vi)
John Purdye (see List vi, whom Barrow described as "a grave, sober, and very godly and honest" man).

[*a*] The fifty-nine include six of those taken in 1587, viz :

1 John Greenwood
2 Widow (Edith) Burroughs
3 George Smalls (or Snells)
4 George Collier
} "close prisoners" all the time.

5 Thomas Freeman
6 Edmond Tomson
} whose absence from the list of 1589 suggests that they were released, and have been re-taken.

[*b*] The list includes all the seventeen prisoners (counting the deceased) of May or June, 1589—except Edward Boyes, who, as a well-to-do tradesman, may have been able to offer sureties sufficiently large to obtain his discharge.

[*c*] Then, in common with the bishop's list (of February), it has the following fresh names :—

In bishop's List, February, 1590.			In Petioner's List, March, 1590.
The Counter, Wood St.	1	Andrews Robert	Bridewell
	2	Barnes John	The Gatehouse
Blakborowe	3	Blacborrow William	The Clink
	4	Bowman Christopher	The Counter, Wood St.
	5	Browne Christopher	The Clink
Buser—In Counter, Wood St.	6	Bucer John	Bridewell
In Newgate	7	Burt William	do.
	8	Canadyne Thomas	The Gatehouse
Anthonye Clakston—In Newgate	9	Claxton Antony	Bridewell
Cranford	10	Crawford John	The Gatehouse
John Debenham	11	Debnam Father	do.
Dodson	12	Dodshoe William	do.
Endford	13	Eyneworth Thomas	The Counter, Poultry
In Counter, Wood St.	14	Fisher John	Bridewell
In Newgate	15	Forester William	do.
In Newgate	16	Forrester James	do.
Fouller—In Counter, Wood St.	17	Fowler William	do.
	18	Hayward Richard	The Counter, Poultry
In Counter, Wood St.	19	Hutton William	Bridewell

Knifton	20	Knisstone George	The Counter, Poultry
	21	Lancaster John	do.
Lemar	22	Le Mare Thomas	The Clink
	23	Lane Walter	The Fleet
In Counter, Wood St.	24	Lee Nicholas	Bridewell
do.	25	Maltuse Richard	do.
Michall	26	Mitchel Thomas	The Clink
	27	Nicolas John	The Gatehouse
	28	Nicolson Edmund	The Clink
In Counter, Wood St.	29	Rippon Roger	Bridewell
In Counter, Wood St.	30	Skarlet Richard	do.
Skipworth	31	Skipwith Rowlat	The Counter, Poultry
	32	Smith Andrew	The Clink
Sparowe	33	Sparrow John	do.
	34	Studley Daniel	The Fleet
	35	Waterer Roger	Newgate

[For List VII, see *Lansdowne MS.* 109, i—also *A Collection of Certain Selanderous Articles...*, 1590. For List VIII, see *Lansdowne MS.* 75, fol. 42. (cp. *Strype Annals*, vol. iv, pp. 127-8). The date is fixed by the statement that "many of us" have been "shut up close prisoners" "the space of two years & a half," *i.e.*, since Oct. 8, 1587. Barrow, &c., were very precise in noting time. They usually counted by lunar months.]

[*d*] Eight are peculiar to the list of March, viz ;

1 Anger —	5 Johnes Anthony
2 Cook —	6 Marsh Edmund
3 Gualter John	7 Reason Thomas
4 Hayes Luke	8 Umberfield Richard

We may presume that these were "captures" effected since February. On the other hand, three names (those of Thomas Settell, the minister, Richard Wheeler and William Clarke) contained in the February list are missing, an indication, perhaps, that their release on "bail" had taken place. It is noteworthy also, as a sign of more lenient treatment, that, while in February none of the prisoners was in Bridewell, eighteen had been transferred there in March.

We step across an interval of some eighteen months, and light on a list, not of prisoners, but of the men who were present in the house of one Fox in St. Nicholas Lane in Sept. 1592—when the little London church may be said to have fully organised itself for the first time, with Francis Johnson as pastor, John Greenwood as teacher, Daniel Studley and George Kniveton as ruling elders, Christopher Bowman and Nicholas Lee as deacons.

Looking through the eyes of Daniel Buck, himself a Separatist at the time, we see :—

List IX.

1 Johnson Francis
*2 Greenwood John
*3 Studley Daniel
*4 Kniveton George
*5 Lee Nicholas
*6 Bowman Christopher
} Officers

7 Abraham (or Aburne) Robert (see List iv, Abraham Joane)

*8 Barnes John
9 Beck John
10 Brey Robert
11 Byllot Arthur
12 Bristoe Da(vid)
13 Collins Will(iam)
14 Diggins Chr(istopher)
15 Digson Thomas
16 Fairlambe (or Fairland) Peter
17 Grave Edward
*18 Jackson Robert
19 Lee Thomas
20 Manners George
21 Marshall Will(iam)
22 Marten George
23 Mason William
*24 Michel Thomas
*25 Nicholas John
26 Pulbery Abraham
*27 Rippon Roger
*28 Roper Ch(ristopher)
29 Shepperd Will(iam)
30 Settell Thomas
*31 Snell George
32 Sympkins Ch(ristopher)
*33 Tomson (or Thompson) Edmond
34 Wever William
35 Wythers Henry

"(with some women) and others whose names he doth not remember."

[Harleian MS., 7042, f. 205. Examination of Daniel Buck, March 9, 1592/3.]

Remarkable is the number, no less than thirteen, (marked *), whom we have met with in our last list, shewing that persecution had for the time been abating. Remarkable, too, as proof of persistent fidelity are (in addition to John Greenwood's) the names of those "old disciples" and sufferers George Snell and Edmond Tomson (see List v.) as also those of Robert Jackson and Christopher Roper (see List vi.)—the last a scion, let us hope, of the family that produced the Roper of 1567. One imagines, moreover, that among the women was faithful Edith Burroughes, surely the "ancient widow" who so well "honoured her place" a few years later as "deaconess" of the Amsterdam Church.

The re-appearance of Thomas Settell, also, should be noted; and the presence of that unstable brother, Peter Fairlambe, who afterwards wrote the "Recantation of a Brownist" (1605).

It is a familiar story how, on December 5 following, Francis Johnson and John Greenwood were taken "late in the night" at the house of Edward Boyes on Ludgate Hill; how next day Boyes and Johnson were committed to the Clink and Greenwood recommitted

to the Fleet; how a few days later Daniel Studley and Thomas Settell were taken in Nicholas Lane upon a Lord's day and others soon after—including Roger Rippon; how Rippon succumbed to the infection of Newgate in February; how his coffin was carried openly to the house of Justice Young, bearing upon it a railing accusation against him and the Archbishop; how the immediate result was a furious renewal of the hunt for "Brownists," winding up with an arrest of 56 in Islington woods on Sunday, March 4, 1593. From the examinations which ensued, spreading over the next six or seven weeks, our tenth list is compiled.

List X. Seventeen were among those who "constituted" the Church in September, and these may come first—with a summary of the particulars "deposed" by each.

1 Aburne (or Abraham) Robert—Examined April 3. Leather dresser, servant to one Mr. Rooke, Southwark—introduced to the brethren by one Wm. Howton (see List VIII, Hutton, 19)—met them at Bridewell and heard one Stanhope openly preach there—was then received into the congregation and has often met with them since in houses, fields and woods—sometimes to the number of a hundred, sometimes 60 at least—gives corroborative details of the church meeting in September, adding that Robert Stokes and George Collier and one or two more were then excommunicated—says that doctor and pastor are maintained by voluntary contributions, each member giving what he can weekly, &c.
Has not been to a parish church for eighteen months & sees no reason to recant.

2 Barnes John—Examined March 8. Tailor.
a Knew R. Rippon, was not privy to the carrying of the coffin nor to the libel thereon, nor to the writer.
b Knows Penry and saw him last Sunday—will say nothing about him.
c At his first entry to the society simply made a declaration to "follow them so far forth as the word of God did warrant him."
d Will not go to Church, &c.

3 Billot Arthur—Examined April 5. Aged 25.
a Hath been a scholar and a soldier—of Llanteglos by Fowley in Cornwall.
b Was taken with Penry, &c., at *Ratcliffe** a fortnight past.
* Folio 61a, adds—"in the wood by Islington."
c Hath been joined two years—persuaded by the book called *Certain Conferences*.
d Is the man that put Barrow's & Greenwood's books to the print at Dort.

4 Bristow (or Bristoe) David—Examined April 5. Tailor, St Martin le Grand, aged 30.

5 Bowman Christopher—Examined April 4 (and 5). Goldsmith, Smithfield, aged 32.
a Prisoner 5 weeks, suspected to have knowledge who made the libel about the coffin.
b A deacon of the church—chosen September last.
c Has not been at church these five years, has spent four of them in prison, being one of "them that delivered the supplication" to the Queen "the last Parliament before this."
d Drew his opinions from the Reformist preachers—*e.g.*, Chadderton, Snape and King "whose course made him enter into further search."

c Been at the meetings as often as he could – states where.
f Received from (and returned to) Robert Stokes about 2 years ago one of Barrow's books *The Discovery of the False Church.*
g Married his last wife in Penry's house—Mr. Settell prayed.
h Won't go to church and "may use his gifts to God's glory" in drawing others.

6 Buck Daniel—Examined March 9.

a Knows nothing about the coffin—was shewn "a copy of the libel" at his own shop in Southwark by a stranger (a Wiltshire man).
b Was at the constable's house (Islington) last Sunday in the afternoon—above 40 present, including some not of the society—saw Penry *inter alios*—George Johnson was "reader."
c Gives account already mentioned as to setting up of the church.

7 Diggins Christopher—Examined April 3 or 5. Weaver, St. Olave's, Southwark, aged 24.

a In prison 6 or 7 weeks for helping to carry the coffin.
b Has been at assemblies of the congregation "every Sabbath day for two years," but will not say where.
c Its numbers have increased but have aimed at nothing but the "service of God and true satisfaction of his Majesty."

8 Grave Edward—Examined April 5. Fishmonger, St Botolph's parish, age 25. Taken a week ago.

9 Johnson Francis—Examined April 5. Minister, but by the assemblies chosen to be pastor of the congregation, being about 31.

a First committed to the counter, being taken in an assembly in St. Nicholas Lane; and committed again, being taken in Mr. Boye's house in Fleet St., and hath been twice examined before, &c.

10 Kniveton George—Examined April 4. Apothecary, Newgate Market, aged 24.

a In prison a fortnight—taken with Penry and others in the house of one Lewes in Stepney.
b Not been at Church for 2 years, hath held his present opinions for 5 years, is an "elder."
c Had a conference with MR. BROWNE,* who persuaded him not to receive the communion, and since with Barrow, Greenwood & Penry.

* Was this Robert Browne?

d Has attended assemblies (at St. Nicholas Lane, Bilson's house Christ Church, in the woods at Islington and Deptford, at John Barnes's near St. Bartholomew) commonly on Sundays, sometimes on week-days.
e Is content to have conference, but will not come to church till "resolved by learned men."

11 Marshall William—Examined April 5. Shipwright, Wapping, aged 32.

12 Mason William—Examined April 5. Shipwright, aged 21.

a Hath been of these assemblies since a little before Christmas last—was persuaded by Roger Rippon and Edward Chandler, has met with the assemblies 12 times, viz.: in Nicholas Lane, at Dan Buck's near Aldgate, at Nicholas Lee's house.
b Has given 6d. a week which the deacons received.
c Chandler had Barrow's works and read them.
d He will go to church.

13 Nicholas John—Examined March 8. Glover, Smithfield.

a Knows nothing of Penry or the libel, or the coffin—"only Rippon's wife did tell him on Friday night, as he thinks, that her husband was dead."

b Was taken at the wood on Sunday was a fortnight

14 Pulbery Abraham—Examined March 7. "Free of the Cowpers" (Coopers), London, aged about 25.

a Was in Cheapside when the dead corpse of Roger Rippon was carried by, heard the paper publicly read, had seen the same beforehand, and agreed with it, knew that the coffin was destined for Mr. Young's house.

b Was at the wood near Islington with others on Sunday last, had a sword about himself, Mr. (George) Johnson expounder that day, when he joined with them made a promise that "he would walk with them as they would walk with the Lord."

15 Settell Thomas—Examined April 5. Minister, late of Cowe Lane, aged about 38.

a Prisoner 15 weeks for being at assembly in Nicholas Lane.

b Renounces the ministry received from the bishops, has been 7 years against the Church of England discipline, has not been to a parish church these 3 years, has held his present opinions 1½ years.

c As to Barrow, Greenwood and Penry's books he will not be his own accuser, will draw as many his way as he can, and refuseth to go to church.

d Witnessed the excommunication of Robert Stokes by Mr. F. Johnson, the other officers and the congregation consenting.

e Has never served in any office but hath spoken in prophesy.

16 Sim(p)kin Christopher—Examined April 5. Coppersmith, Aldersgate Street, aged 22.

17 Wevar William—Examined April 5. Shoemaker, Gray's Inn Lane, aged 40, servant to George Smith.

a Has attended the assemblies 18 months and was persuaded thereto by Robert Badkyn (see List VI).

18 Withers Henry—Examined April 5. Shipwright, Deptford, aged 37, taken in the wood a month past.

Others, examined on April 5, were :—

19 Boyes Edward—Haberdasher, Fleet St., aged 33.

a Committed 16 weeks past.

b Has been three years of this society (see List v.),* and was moved thereto by Mr. Egerton, Mr. (Cowper) Cooper and Mr. Wiggington their sermons.

*So that his connection with the society in Oct. 1587, was merely nominal.

20 Broadwater Henry—Scrivener, aged 26, taken six weeks past.

21 Clerke John—Husbandman, Welsoken in Norfolk, aged about 50.

a Committed three years since (see List vi.) being taken in an assembly of Brownists, converted to his present opinions by the preaching of one Colshill—but has none of Barrow, Greenwood and Penry's writings nor has he persuaded any.

b Indicted as a recusant about 1½ years since

c Will not come to church.

22 Collier George—Haberdasher, St. Martin's parish Ludgate, aged 38.
a Committed 5 years ago with Greenwood, Crane and others (see List v.), and never examined all this time.
b Being required to go to church and have his liberty, he says he will not.*

* This casts grave doubt on Robert Aburne's statement that Collier was excommunicated. Note that another eye-witness, Settell, says nothing of it.

23 Curland William—Shipwright.
a For a fortnight attended assemblies 5 or 6 times.
b "Will be persuaded if he may be bailed."

24 Darvall William—Carpenter, Shoreditch, aged 25.

25 Denford William—Schoolmaster (see List vi.) aged 50, lodged at Mayre's* house, Foster Lane, (*a*) committed a month past, (*b*) will not go to church till the parishes are reformed—(*c*) has not received communion for 5 years.

* *i.e.*, Lemar or Lemare's (List viii, 22)?

26 Gibbart (or Gilbarte) Edward—Stonemaker, servant to Isaac Tripe, "of uncertain abode," aged 21.
a Has been ¼ year at the assemblies.

27 Giles William—Tailor, servant to Mr. Chenjatt of Walbrook, aged 22.
a Won't answer how long he has attended the assemblies.
b Won't repeat the Lord's prayer.

28 Hewet Thomas—Pursemaker, Martin le Grand, but born at Swanton in Leicestershire, aged 30, taken in the wood.

29 Huckes John—Shipwright, born in Chatham, aged about 21.
a Taken in the wood a month past.
b Promises to go to church.

30 Parkes John—Clothworker, aged 50.
a Committed a month past.
b Has been of the church three months.
c Is willing to have conference.

31 Pedder Leonard—Shoemaker, Blackfriars, aged 30.
a For two months of this sect.

32 Penry John—Minister, about 30, "being demanded where he was the 19th day of March he answereth that he was in London or thereabouts, and that there was one Edward Grave" (see No. 8 *supra*, and List ix, 17) "that lay with him at Hogsden and from thence at Ratcliffe."

33 Smith Quintin (see List vi)—Feltmaker, servant to his brother at Southwark, aged 30.
a Has been "an attender" at the assemblies 2 years.

34 Smith William—Minister, Bradford, Wilts, aged 30.
a Ordained by Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, licensed by Bishop of Sarum.
b Imprisoned eight weeks since for carrying the coffin.
c Has been at assembly in Nicholas Lee's house by Smithfield, went there to see and hear their order.
d Came up to London to confer with Johnson, Greenwood, &c.
e Refuseth to attend church, but is willing to have conference.

[N.B.—We have here the Smith who has often been mistaken for John Smyth.]

35 Waterer Roger (see List viii, 35)—Haberdasher, aged 32, taken in the wood, taken once before 3¼ years ago.

36 Unwin (or Onyon) Katherine (see List v)—Widow, late of Christchurch, now dwelling at Aldgate, aged about 35.

a Has been in the Gatehouse, Westminster, about a month for being with Penry's wife and others when she delivered the petition to the Lord Keeper.

b She seemeth conformable....., but wanteth (*i.e.*, lacketh) sureties to be found for her.

N.B—Between her first appearance in October, 1587, and this, she comes up in connection with the article on "Certain Wicked Sects & Opinions," (Harleian MS, 7042, fol. 13-14) 1588-9. She had omitted to have her child baptized and "ran away for fear of punishment." She is described as "one of their chief conventiclers."

Three more cases complete the list :—

37 William Clerke (see List viii*d*)—Examined 8 March. Worker of Caps, of the parish of St. Botolph's.

a Knew R. Rippon, but nothing else.

b Has been of the congregation 4 or 5 years, promised to stand with the said congregation so long as they should stand for the truth and the glory of God, about 20 were present when he joined.

c Will not pledge himself to go to church, but will put in good security to be of good behaviour.

38 Johnson George—late Schoolmaster in St. Nicholas Lane, born in Richmondshire, aged 29.

Examined on March 7 (three days after arrest in a wood beyond Islington).

a Says he was not "privy or party" to the libel on R. Rippon's coffin.

Examined on April 2.

b Says he was drawn to his present opinions by the word of God and Mr. Egerton's preaching.

c Refuseth to say if he has any of Barrow, Greenwood, or Penry's books or hath drawn any to the assemblies.

d Is sure that however great their number might be they "would but walk in the ordinance of God according to his word."

39 Sparrow John (see List viii, 33)—Fishmonger, citizen of London, aged 60 years.

a Been in prison in the White Lion, Southwark ; and in the Clink these four years.

b Committed by Privy Council for delivering a petition to the Queen's Majesty.

c Never before been examined or indicted.

N.B.—We have met with a Robert Sparrow (see List iii) and a Henry (see List iv) : was this another of the same family?
[Harleian MS., 7042 ff 35-38 (cp. 6848, 32-36) also ff 59-64.]

Glancing over the names as a whole we cannot but be struck with the facts (1) that the great majority were so young ; (2) that they were mostly of the tradesman or artizan class ; (3) that so few drew back or wavered ; (4) that Katherine Unwin was the only woman.

List XI.

Lastly, in the margin of the preface to the first edition, 1596, of the Brownists' "True Confession of Faith. . . ." is a list of "twenty four souls" that "have perished in the prisons of London only," "through the barbarous cruelty" of the Bishops.

a These include nine of the ten named in the List of 1590, viz.:—

1	John Chandler	in the Counter, Poultry
2	George Dinghie (*i.e.* Bryghte)	„ Wood St
3	Richard Jackson	in Newgate
4	Widow Maynard (called Mother Maner)	„
5	Widow Row (called Mother Roe)	„
6	Nicholas Crane	„
7	Thomas Stephens	„
8	Henry Tomson	in the Clink
9	John Purdye	in Bridewell

The omission (strange to say) is Jerome Studley.

b Eight others certainly died later than March or April 1593, when they underwent examinations, viz :

10	Robert Auburne (called Awsburne)	in Newgate
11	Scipio Billot[1] (gentleman)	„
12	Robert Bowle[1] (citizen of London)	„

1 Convicted March 23, 1593, same day with Barrow, Greenwood & Daniel Studley.

13	John Barnes (being sick unto death, was carried forth and departed this life shortly after).	
14	William Denford	in the Gatehouse
15	Thomas Hewet	in the Counter, Wood St

c Assuming that the rest died between March of 1590 and February 1593, the date of R. Rippon's death, we see that Barrow's statement in the *Supplication* (March 1593), that up to then 17 or 18 had died, is exactly true.

16	Father (John) Debnham, in the White Lion, about 70 years of age. (List viii, 11).	
17	Drewet Thomas (?Legate) (List vi, 11).	in Newgate
18	Farrer Margaret, being sick unto death was carried forth from Newgate and ended her life within a day or two after.	
19	Howton (or Hutton) William. (List viii, 19).	in Newgate
20	Gualter John. (List viii, *d*).	„
21	Lane Walter. (List viii, 23).	in the Fleet
22	Myller Judith	in Newgate
23	Rippon Roger	„
24	Tailour Anna	„

d Happily it is clear from this that in 1596 there had been no deaths due to imprisonment within the previous three years.

A list of some length and of considerable importance in relation to the Amsterdam church might be gathered from the names mentioned by George Johnson in his *Discourse of some Troubles*, &c.* (1603).

* A copy of this rare book is in Sion College Library, and another in Trinity College, Cambridge.

I have not yet been able to examine this carefully, but a rapid perusal has shewn that—besides the Johnsons, Studley, Bowman and Knifton—men of note, more or less, in the church were Thomas Michel and Robert Jackson, A. Pulbery, George Marten, George Collier, Wm. Shepheard and John Nicholas. The two last (with two others) are those, says George Johnson, who "go hither and thither, to and from England, with talks and reports."

FRED. J. POWICKE.

II

COLLINS ROBERT, M.A., OTTERY ST. MARY.

He was ejected from the living of Tallaton, Devon; and his name appears, under date May 1656, as a member of the Exeter Assembly, as minister of Tallerton. He was a man of wealth, and, therefore, much attracted the informers, and was so persecuted that he fled to Holland.

CROMPTON WILLIAM, M.A., EXETER.

Mr. Crompton was the son of a minister at Barnstaple, Devon; and was ejected from the living of Collumpton. His name also appears, May 1656, as a member of the Exeter Assembly of ministers, in the seventh division. He continued there for some years, it is said without the encouragement he deserved; and it may be that this caused him to go to Exeter, and while there to take out a licence. He died in 1696.

The titles of his works indicate the subjects in which he felt peculiarly interested, as well as the general tastes of the congregations of that period. He published "A Remedy against Superstition," "A Brief Survey of the Old Religion," "Foundation of God for Salvation of the Elect," "Sovereign Omnipotency," "The Saints' Security," "A Treatise on Prayer; on James v, 16," "A Wilderness of Trouble leading to a Canaan of Comfort."

DOWN MARK, M.A., EXETER,

ejected from St. Petrock's, Exeter, and his brother from St. Edmund's, Exeter. One of his brother's daughters married Mr. Whiddon, the ejected minister, of Totnes; and another John Flavel, the Puritan divine, of Dartmouth.

EBDINE EDWARD, "DAME DRAKE'S," TOPSHAM.

Through the labours of Ames Short, who came to Topsham in 1645, and in 1650 removed to Lyme Regis, Puritanism got a hold in Topsham, 1662. The incumbent of Topsham conformed; but a congregation of dissenters was formed under Mr. B. Berry, ejected from Mary Tavy.

FACEY LEWIS, WERRINGTON,

ejected from Upton Hellions, near Crediton. Took out licence at Werrington, near Launceston, but in Devon.

FACEY WILLIAM, "MARTIN DUNSFORD'S," TIVERTON.

Who William Facey was does not appear. He took out licence for the house of Martin Dunsford, Tiverton. The Dunsfords were a Nonconformist family, and towards the end of the 18th century a Martin Dunsford, possibly a descendant of the above, wrote a history of Tiverton, and other works.

FARRARD RICHARD, "OWN HOUSE," MUSBERRY,

ejected from the rectory of Musberry.

FLAVEL JOHN, B.A., DARTMOUTH.

This was one of the most celebrated Puritan divines in the west of England. His father was a minister, and the son was at University College, Oxford.

He was first curate to Mr. Walplate, the rector of Diptford, South Devon; and on Mr. Walplate's death became rector. In 1656 he removed to Dartmouth, as lecturer or joint minister with Mr. Allen Geare, who is said to have been a sickly man. Mr. Geare succeeded Antony Harford as vicar of Townstall, Dartmouth, which included the chapelry of St. Saviour's in the town.

On the death of Mr. Harford the living, which was the property of the Corporation, fell to their gift; and troubles appear to have arisen. Calamy states that John Howe and Robert Jagoe were candidates, and that the votes were equal; and he then goes on to record the well-known story of Howe preaching before Cromwell, his relative and chief supporter in Dartmouth, Mr T. Boon, having gone to Cromwell, and explained the difficulty they were in at Dartmouth: that it was in consequence of Howe's preaching with such ability at such short notice, that he was made Cromwell's chaplain, hence the reason of his not going to Dartmouth; that he was also unwilling for his competitor to go there, and so the new choice fell on Mr. Geare.

Later writers on Nonconformity have ridiculed the story of Howe's preaching before Cromwell and its results; but whilst it is clear that there is a mistake somewhere, it is also clear that there is some foundation for the statement that the Dartmouth people wished that John Howe should settle among them; for there is still preserved

among the muniments of the Corporation of Dartmouth the following document.

The document is endorsed :—

> An agreement made by General Desborough concerning Mr Geare and Mr Flavel.
>
> 7th August, 1656.

For the composing of the differences in the Corporation of Dartmouth and their Trustees It is this day before the Right Honorable Generall Desborough agreed as followeth :—That the precentation made by Edward Spurway and Mr John Plumleigh (Feoffees or Trustees of y^e^ Rectory impropriate of Townstall in trust for the Corporation of Dartmouth) of Mr Allen Geare to the Vicaradge of Townstall and Chaple of St. Saviors by consent shall stand. And that all *caveats* entered against it shall be forthwith withdrawn and all writes of *Quare impedit* or other writes or proceedings against the Institution and induction of the said Mr. Geare shall be discontinued and withdrawn to the end Mr Geare may have free Institution and induction upon the same presentation.

That Mr John How or some able pious Minister shall be appointed (?) as Lecturer at Townstall and Dartmouth to be chosen by Mr Thomas Boone Esqr Mr Stephen Knowling Mr Obidiah Widger Mr Edward Elliott Mr Robert Barber Mr Anthony Plumleigh Mr Richard Aylwin Esqr Mr John Whiteway Esqr.

That y^e^ profits of the Vicaridge and the augmentations now or hereafter to be settled

on both or either Churches shall be equally divided between them.

That the weekly lecture in the Chaple shall be performed by both Ministers in turne and the revenue for maintenance thereof by subscriptions be equally divided between them.

That the profitts of y^e^ said Rectory (wch the Corporation of Dartmouth doe freely give for y^e^ said Ministers better encouradgment) or other publicke maintenance shall be equally divided between them. But the rents issuing out of the same and all rates and taxes first fruits and tenths are to be first deducted nor is any tyeth to be demanded.

That it is intended by all parties and the true meaning hereof is that Mr Geare shall officiate at the usual hours on the Lords day in the Chapel and Mr How at Townstall unless it shall be otherwise agreed between themselves.

And it is further intended and agreed that both the said Ministers shall signify their consents by subscribing their hands hereunto.

Signed,	Thos Boone	Will Barnes
	Steph Knowlinge	Edw Wheeler
	Robert Bake	Joseph Cubitt
	Rich Alywin	Edw Spurwaie
		John Plumleigh
	John Flavel	Allen Geare

From this document it appears that the feoffees or trustees of the rectory of Townstall in trust for the Corporation (the owners of the living) had presented Mr. Geare, but difficulties had arisen and *caveats* been entered ; that it was ultimately agreed he should be instituted and inducted to

the living, and an assistant should be appointed called a lecturer, and Mr. Howe or some able pious Minister should have this appointment, the stipend being divided ; and the agreement being signed by John Flavel shews that he was put in instead of Howe.

Major-General Desborough, referred to in the agreement, was one of Cromwell's Major-Generals, who looked after the Church as well as the State. He had oversight of the Western District, comprising Devon and Cornwall, and in 1654 was returned to Parliament for Totnes ; but in October of that year elected to sit for County Cambridge. He was elected for both places, and decided to sit for Cambridge.

In 1655 some Quakers were committed to prison by the Mayor of Plymouth ; they appealed to Major-General Desborough, who appears to have presided at the sessions at Exeter, July 10th, 1655, when they were fined £5, and to be imprisoned till paid, and find sureties for good behaviour, for refusing to take the oath, using provoking words, and refusing to be "tryed by the Countrey." [1]

July 8, 1659, he was appointed Keeper of the Rolls of the County of Devon.

Geare and Flavel laboured harmoniously until the Act of Uniformity ejected them in 1662, and must have done good work in Dartmouth ; though they, like many of the divines of those times, did not agree with the Quakers, in whose records is the entry :—

"At a Meeting at the High Gaol Exeter in 11th month 1682 directing inquiries into the dates and other particulars of sufferings of Friends in previous years Sarah Tripe and Eliza her sister being accused by Robert Lanes of Dartmo. to be witches

1 Hamilton's Quarter Sessions, 1878.

through y^e^ instigation of Allen Geare and Jno Flavell 2 priests of Dartmo y^e^ 18th of 8th mo 1659 Mem: To peruse the record abt London to see whether theare recorded." [2]

After his ejection in 1687, Flavel, writing to Clement Lake, of Crediton, who had become a Quaker, says "No Quaker that understands and professeth the Principles of Quakerism, can be a Christian." [3]

Geare died a few months after his ejection; the entry of his burial in St. Saviour's registers is "1662 Mr Allen Geare Vicar of Dartmouth and Townstall 17 Dec."

The Corporation of Dartmouth appear to have had trouble in supplying the pulpit after the ejection, as will be seen from the following entries in the Corporation accounts; and had to scour the neighbourhood for preachers.

"Pd Mr Jno Crocker of Stockfleming (Stoke Fleming) to preach in Dartmouth 24th of August 1662 is	12/6
To Mr of Littlehemsom (Littlehempston near Totnes) for preaching 30 August nothing (a barrel of Anchovies and a barrell of Olives)	8 -
Pd Mr Ellis of Allington for preaching the 7 Sept	14 -
Pd Mr Lewis Sharpe 14 Sept	13 -
Pd Mr Clifford Newton Ferrers 28 Sept nothing (sent a barrell of Anchovies and a barrell of Olives	9 -
Pd Mr. Emberry of Torr for preaching Oct 5th	13 -
Pd Mr Nicholas Downing for preaching Oct 12th	16 -
Pd Mr John Perring for going to several places to procure preachers to come here	6/6

2 *Early Records of the Society of Friends in Devon*, by Robert Dymond, F.S.A., 1673.

3. From contemporary pamphlet entitled *Something by way of testimony concerning Clement Lake of Crediton Devon with something he wrote in his life time by way of answer unto John Flavell, Independent preacher of Dartmouth, 1692.*

On the ejection Flavel remained in Dartmouth, and laboured among his people; and when the Oxford Act passed, removed to the neighbouring parish of Slapton. The dedication of "A Saint indeed," is "From my Study at Ley in Slapton, Oct 7 1667." He went to Dartmouth when he could, and to many places in the neighbourhood. There is a tradition in the family of the writer that Flavel came to Totnes, disguised as a lady riding on horseback, to baptize the child of a Nonconformist. In Kingsbridge estuary there is a rock known as the Salt-Stone, about 100 feet long by 50 feet wide, and equidistant from 3 adjoining parishes—a sort of no man's land—where Flavel met the Nonconformists who resorted there at low water: the justices, it was understood, could not legally interfere with them there.

He afterwards seems to have stayed at Hadscott Hall, belonging to the well known Devonshire family of the Rolles, situated near South Molton, and it is presumed it was in this rural retreat he gathered materials for his "Husbandry Spiritualized."

He returned to Dartmouth, took out a licence under the indulgence of 1672, and suffered considerable persecution. The records of the Corporation contain lists of persons fined for non-attendance at church; and the lists shew that there were a considerable number, and that many were leading people. The muniments of the County of Devon shew that at Michaelmas sessions 1670 the mayor of Dartmouth brought in 11s. 8d. fines he had levied.

When the indulgence was withdrawn the persecution became so great that Flavel went to London. He afterwards returned to Dartmouth, and in 1687 a chapel was erected by his people, where he conducted services.

Flavel's last sermon was preached only five days before his death, at Ashburton, Devon, in the old meeting house known as Great Meeting, which forms part of the present congregational chapel. The sermon was from 1 Cor. x. 12. He was on his way to attend the meeting of the assembly of ministers at Topsham, of which he was the Moderator, held with a view to a union between the Presbyterians and Independents. He died suddenly in the arms of Rev William Evans of Collumpton, on 26 June 1691, in the 64th year of his age.

He was buried in St. Saviour's church, Dartmouth, where a brass with a Latin inscription to his memory was put up, but was subsequently removed by order of the magistrates. It was then put up in the meeting house, and is now in the Flavel Memorial church, Dartmouth.

When thrown out of St. Saviour's church an addition was made to it as follows :—

> "This Memorial was erected
> In the Church of St Saviours
> But being removed by di-
> Rection of the Magistracy
> Is placed here by the Friends
> Of the deceased Anno Dom 1709."

The brass was the work of Mordecai Cockey, a brazier of Totnes, a member of a leading Nonconformist family.

Recently a replica of the brass has been put up in St. Saviour's church, Dartmouth, by P.F.S. Evans, Esq., J.P., of Bristol, great grandson of the Rev. Evans in whose arms Flavel died, and who was buried in the same grave with Flavel a few years after.

The Congregational church, Princess Street,

Devonport, possesses a silver communion cup with the inscription:

1663
I. F.
D.

It is said to have been Flavel's communion cup. The date is the year after the ejection, and the initials would represent John Flavel, Dartmouth.

The cause at Devonport was founded about 1751 by Andrew Kinsman, a convert of Whitfield, who also founded the church at the Tabernacle in Britonside, Plymouth. The cup appears to have come into the possession of a family named Tanner from whom it came to Mr. Kinsman.

The authorities of Princess Street church only heard of the tradition that the cup had belonged to Flavel and been used by him as a communion cup about 17 years since, and they then examined the cup and found the date and initials.

FORD THOMAS, "O.H.", EXETER.

GAY JOHN, BARNSTAPLE,

of Exeter College, Oxford. Left the University because he could not submit to the terms imposed. He appears to have been a relative of the poet Gay.

GAYLARD ROBERT, EXETER,

ejected from Ide, near Exeter; one of the early ministers of Bow Meeting.

GIDLEY JOHN, M.A., EXETER.

GLANVILLE JOHN, "O.H." PLYMOUTH.

Amongst those prosecuted in the mayoralty of William Jennens, the Church-and-King mayor of Plymouth, 1662-3 (a very zealous persecutor) was John Glanvill.

HANMER JONATHAN, M.A., DEVON,

was grandfather of the poet Gay. He was born at Barnstaple, 1605, was a member of a Barnstaple family, and was, previous to going to the University, a pupil at the grammar school of that town. He took his degree of M.A. at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was ordained priest, St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1632. He ministered first at Instow, then at Bishop's Tawton, and was lecturer of Barnstaple when ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He died Dec. 16, 1687. A John Hanmer was Constable of Barnstaple 11 August (15 James I.) and mayor 1614. In 1827 a slab was discovered in Barnstaple church yard, with an inscription shewing that his wife and several children were buried there. On the indulgence of 1672 a meeting house was built near the Castle, known as Castle Meeting, and a regular Church formed on the Congregational plan ; Mr. Hanmer was probably interred there.

HANMER JOHN, M.A., BARNSTAPLE,

son of Jonathan Hanmer. He was not ejected from any living, but refused to take the oaths and comply with the demands for conformity. He was, therefore, obliged to quit college, and was silenced for some years.

In May 1692 he was chosen co-partner with Mr. Peard, his father's successor at Castle Meeting. In 1700 there was a secession from Castle Meeting, owing to Mr. Hanmer being rendered almost incapable of ministerial work, and the seceders erected a chapel in Cross Street. He died 1707.

In 1749 the two congregations united, and services were continued at each place alternately. The Castle Meeting was sold in 1806.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography.

III.

IN the last paper we described the principal works proceeding from, or relating to, the Exiled Church in Holland. We must now revert to England, and summarise the Puritan and Nonconformist literature of a controversial kind which appeared between the martyrdom of Penry and the death of James I.

Of the numerous earlier writings in opposition to the principles of Puritans, Precisians, Nonconformists, and Separatists, the most notable bore the names of S. Bredwell, G. Gifford, R. Some, and M. Sutcliffe. An attack by the latter on JOB THROCKMORTON (before mentioned as a *probable* author of the Marprelate Tracts), elicited the following reply :—

The Defence of T. T. against the slaunders of Maister Sutcliffe, taken out of a copye of his owne hande, as it was written to an honourable personage, etc. 4to., 40pp., 1594. A copy is in the British Museum.

The Mediaeval Church having advanced ecclesiastical holy-days to an equality with, if not precedence over, the Lord's day, the more advanced reformers went to an opposite extreme. Hence a rigid Sabbatarianism was from the first a characteristic of the Puritans. In this spirit NICHOLAS BOWNDE wrote *Sabbathvm Veteris et Novi Testamenti : or the true doctrine of the Sabbath.* 4to., 1595. Attempts were made to suppress it, and the book is of extreme rarity ; an imperfect copy is at Lambeth. A reprint, 1605, is at Caius College, Cambridge. Another reprint, 4to., 20-480pp., 1606, is in the Bodleian, British Museum, York Minster, and Prince's Library, (Boston). The influence of this book among the Puritan gentry is said to have provoked the first issue of the notorious "Book of Sports," 1618.

The history of HENOCH CLAPHAM is very obscure. At the publication of his first known book, he was preacher to an English congregation in Amsterdam, which may or may not have been a branch of the Exiled Church. But at a later time his sympathies were certainly *not* with the Separatists. His works are :—

Theological axioms or conclusions : Publikly controuerted, discussed, and concluded by that poore English congregation in Amstelredam : to

whom H. C. for the present ad-ministereth the Ghospel, Togither with an Examination of the saide conclusions by H. C. Herevnto is added a little Tractate entituled The Carpenter. 4to., 1597 ; a copy at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Antidoton : or a sovereigne remedie against Schisme and Heresie ; gathered to analogie and proportion of faith from that parable of Tares, Matt. 13. 4to., 1600. Copies in the Bodleian and York Minster.

Doctor Andros his Prosopopeia answered, and necessarily directed to his majestie, for removing of Catholike scandale, etc. 4to., 1605. A copy is in the Bodleian.

Errour on the Right Hand, through a preposterous Zeale, acted by way of dialogue. Errour on the left hand through a frozen securitie. 12mo. 1608. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

A Chronological Discourse, touching the Church, Christ, Anti-Christ, Gog and Magog, etc. 4to., 1609 ; in the Bodleian.

It is desirable that all these writings of Clapham should be carefully examined.

George Cranmer was moved by the publication of Hooker's "Ecclasiastical Polity" (1593-7) to write a *Letter to Mr Richard Hooker concerning the new Church discipline, 1598.* It is uncertain whether it was then printed ; but it was published in 1641 and again in 1642. It is reproduced in Walton's "Life of Hooker," and in Hanbury's edition of "Hooker's Works."

An anonymous tract appeared in 1600, entitled *The Reformation of Religion by Josiah, a commendable example for all Princes professing the Gospel to follow ; with a warninge to all faithfull and true-hearted snbiectes, to encourage their princes in so happie a course.* 16mo., 27pp. Copies are at Lambeth and in Williams's Library.

Thomas Digges is named as the author of *Humble Motives for Association to maintaine religion established: published as an antidote against the pestilent treatises of secular priests.* 12mo., 2-42pp., 1601. Copies are in the Bodleian and British Museum. Nearly two years afterwards appeared anonymously, *A Brief censure upon the Puritane pamphlet, entituled, Humble Motynes for Association etc., reproving it of so many untrueths, as there be leaves in the same.* 16mo., 75pp., 1603. Copies in the British Museum and York Minster.

The "Millenary Petition" elicited the following :—*The Answere of the Vice Chancelour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the Vniversitye of Oxford . . . to the Humble Petition of the ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies & abuses of the Church.* Oxford. 4to., 12-32pp. (the Petition is on pp. 1-5), 1603. Reprinted in 1608 and 1612. Copies of one or other edition are in many libraries.

Notwithstanding the uncompromising attitude of king and

bishops—exhibited in the Convocation which adopted the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical" that are still nominally in force, and in the abortive Hampton Court Conference, earnest efforts were still made by ministers averse from separation to obtain reforms both of polity and ceremonies. Among such ministers were :—

Wm. Stoughton. He wrote in the Presbyterian interest, *An Assertion for true and Christian Church-Policie ;* 16mo., 18-439-10pp 1604. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational and other libraries. Reprinted 4to., 1642.

Wm. Bradshaw (1571-1618), wrote : *A Treatise of Divine Worship : Tending to prove that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospell in England, in present controuersie, are in their vse unlawfull.* 16mo., 47pp., 1604. Copies in the British Museum, Williams's, &c.

A shorte Treatise of the crosse in Baptisme. 16mo., 4-25pp., 1604. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

A Consideration of certain Positions Archiepiscopal. 16mo., 12pp., 1604. At Williams's.

A Treatise of the Nature & Use of Things Indifferent. Tendinge to proue that the Ceremonies in present controuersie . . . are neither in nature or vse indifferent. 16mo., 2-30pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.

English Pvritanisme. Containeing : The maine Opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritanes in the Realme of England. 16mo., 35pp., 1605. In many libraries.

A Protestation of the Kings Supremacie, made in the name of the afflicted ministers, and opposed to the shamefull Calumniations of the Prelates. 16mo., 2-22pp., 1605. In many libraries.

A Proposition Concerning Kneeling in the very act of Receiving. Howsoever published to satisfie Professours, yet humblie submitted to the judgement of Prophets. 16mo., 30pp., 1605. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, &c.

Twelve General Arguments Proving that the Ceremonies Imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England by our Prelates, are unlawful, &c. 16mo., 1605. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and York Minster.

Some of the foregoing were several times reprinted ; and all of them were reissued in 4to., 1660. They are usually in a volume with the general title *Several Treatises of Worship and Ceremonies.* This reprint is in the British Museum, Congregational, and many other libraries.

Puritanismus Anglicanus. 16mo., 28-92pp., Frankfort, 1610. This is the "English Puritanisme," translated by W. Ames, who added an Introduction. Reprinted (as wholly by Ames), Amsterdam, 1658. Both editions are in the Congregational Library ; the first is in the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.

The Vnreasonableness of the Separation : Made apparent by an examination of Mr. Johnson's pretended Reasons. 4to., 116pp., Dort,

1614. In the British Museum, Williams's, &c. Reprinted, with additions, 4to., 1640; in the Congregational Library.

The following is anonymous: *An Abridgement of that Booke which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocess deliuered to his Maiestie . . . being the first part of an Apologye for themselues and their brethren that refuse the subscription and conformitie which is required, etc.* 4to., 7-80pp., 1605. Reprinted in 8vo, 1617 (by Brewster at Leyden), 1641, 1660. Copies either of the original or one of the reprints are in many public libraries.

Samuel Hieron (1576—1617), a Puritan minister of Modbury, Devon, wrote *A short Dialogue proving that the Ceremonyes and some other Corruptions now in question, are defended, by none other Arguments then such as the Papists haue heretofore vsed*, etc. 4to., 5-69pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

A Defence of the Ministers Reasons for Refusall of Subscription to the Booke of Common Prayer, and of Conformitie, against the seuerall Answeres of T. Hutton, W. Cowell, M. I. Burgess, Tho. Sp[*arkes*]. 4to., 8-226pp., 1607. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and other libraries.

The Second Parte of the Defense of the Ministers Reasons for refusal of Subscription and of Conformity, &c. 4to., 16-243pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

A Dispute upon the Question of kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Sacramentall Bread and Wine . . . or a third parte of the Ministers Reasons, etc. 4to., 8-166pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

We next come to another group of anonymous publications:—

The Brownists Petition to King James, 1604, is the title of a 4to. tract at Queen's College, Cambridge. In the absence of more definite information, it seems probable that it may be part of the "Apology or Defence" by Fr. Johnson and Ainsworth. Another tract in the same library, dated 1608, is entitled, *The Brownists Petition to King James. With a Dispute upon the Question of kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacramental Bread and Wine.* These should be examined.

Certaine Considerations Drawne from the Canons of the last Sinod . . . for Non-Subscription, for the not exact use of the Order and Forme of the Booke of Common Prayer, etc. 4to., 16-68pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Certaine Demands with their Grounds drawn out of Holy Writ. 4to., 1605. In the Congregational Library.

In the British Museum is *A Treatise of Kirke Governement, consisting*

of two partes, whereof this former conteineth a Demonstration of true Christian Discipline according to the word of God used in the Kirke of Scotland. . . . The Second Part . . . conteining a refutation of Episcopall Governement by Lord Bishopes, etc. 16mo., 30-30pp., 1606.

Certaine Arguments to perswade and provoke the High Court of Parliament . . . to promote and advance the sincere ministers of the Gospel . . . now degraded, deprived, silenced, or admonished, etc. 4to., 1606. In the Bodleian, York Minster, and Congregational Library.

A Myld and Ivst Defence of certeyne argvments . . . on behalfe of the Ministers suspended and deprived, etc. 4to., 6-164pp., 1606. In the Bodleian, Congregational, and other public libraries.

The Removall of certaine Imputations laid vpon the Ministers of Deuon and Cornwall by one M. T. H., and in them vpon all other Ministers elswhere refusing to subscribe. 4to., 6-66pp., 1606. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and elsewhere.

The argument of Master Nicholas Fuller, in the case of Thomas Lad and Richard Maunsell, his clients; Wherein it is plainely proued, that the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners have no power by vertue of their Commission to imprison, to put to the oth ex officio, or to fine any of his Majesties Subjects. 4to. 4-32pp., 1607. In the British Museum and Bodleian. The Congregational Library has a reprint, 4to., 1641.

A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer, by way of 197 Queres grounded on 58 Places, Ministring just matter of question, etc. A petition of 22 Preachers in London is annexed. 18mo., 1610. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

ROBERT PARKER (before mentioned in connection with H. Sanford) was associated with Jacobs and Ames. In 1607 he published *A Scholasticall Discovrse Against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies: especially in the Signe of the Crosse*: fol. 6-196-16-144-8pp. There are copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregagational Library.

Two years after Parker's death appeared his *De Politeia Ecclesiasticæ Christi, et Hierarchia opposita, etc., Libri Tres.* 4to. 16-368-456pp., Frankfort, 1616. There are copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, York Minster, &c. There was a reprint in 1638.

R. BUCKLAND is named as the author of *An Embassye from heaven; wherein Christ gineth to understand his iust indignation against al such as being Catholikely minded, dare yeelde their presence to the rites and praier of the malignant Church.* 8vo., n.p., ? 1609. This is in the Bodleian; it is not clear from the title whether it is Puritan or Popish.

George Downame, afterwards Bishop of Derry, having been active in rhetorical defence of the established order, the eminent Puritan commentator, PAUL BAYNE, replied with *The Diocesans*

Tryall. Wherein all the Sinnewes of Doctor Downhams Defence are brought into three heads, and orderly dissolved. 4to., 1621. A copy is the Bodleian. Reprinted in 1641 and 1644.

LEONARD BUSHER, a Baptist, had been among the exiles at Amsterdam, but was in London when he published *Religious Peace; or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience:* 1614. This was probably the first English publication in which the principle of religious freedom was asserted without qualification. It was reprinted in 1646 (4to., 44pp.); and by the Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846.

It is not necessary to occupy space with the numerous publications against Puritanism and Separatism which abounded in the period now under review, and of which the most conspicuous authors were Barlow, Bilson, Cowell, Dove, Hutton, Morton, and Powell. But the following deserve particular notice :—

T. WHITE. *A Discoverie of Brownisme : or a briefe Declaration of some of the errors and abhominations daily practised and increased among the English Company of the Separation remayning for the present at Amsterdam in Holland.* 4to., 6-30pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum and York Minster.

O. ORMEROD. *The Pictvre of a Puritane : or a Relation of the opinions, qualities, and practices of the Anabaptists in Germanie, and of the Puritanes in England. Wherein is firmely prooued that the Puritanes doe resemble the Anabaptists, in above fourescore seuerall thinges. Whereunto is annexed a short treatise, entituled, Puritano-papismus, or a discouerie of Puritan-Papisme, etc.* 4to., 11-81-32pp., 1605. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

PETER FAIRLAMBE. *The Recantation of a Brownist, Or a Reformed Pvritan. Written by one that hath altogether, bin led in the same erronious oppinions for many yeeres together; and thereupon banished the Realme, etc.* 4to., 58pp., 1606. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

W. CRAWSSAWE. *The Sermon Preached at the Crosse. Feb. xiij, 1607, by W.C., Fnstified by the Author, both against Papist, and Brownist, to be the truth.* 4to., 16-174pp., 1608. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. Reprinted 1609.

RICHARD BERNARD, or BARNARD, of Batcombe (1567-1641), was a Doctrinal Puritan, who seemed once on the point of joining Clyfton, Robinson, &c.; but concluded that conformity was a less evil than Separation. His Biblical and practical writings were long highly esteemed. His works of interest in this connection are :—

Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also disswasions from the Separatists Schisme, commonly called Brownisme etc. 16mo., 16-200pp., 1608. Copies in the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

Plain Evidences: The Church of England is Apostolicall; the Separation Schismaticall. directed against Mr. Ainsworth the Separatist, and Mr. Smyth the se-baptist, etc. 4to., 1610. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library, and Queen's College, Cambridge.

A Key of Knowledge, for the opening of the Secret Mysteries of St Johns Mysticall Revelation. 4to., 60-352pp., 1617. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

The Seaven Golden Candlestickes: England's honour; the great mysterie of Gods mercie yet to Come. 8vo., 1621. A copy in the Bodleian.

A Short View of the Praelaticall Church of England: Wherein is set forth the horrible abuses in Discipline and Government, layd open in tenne Sections, etc. Whereunto is added a Short draught of Church-government. 4to., 4-39pp., 1641 (two impressions). Reprinted with additions, 1661. Both editions are in the Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

D. Owen was the author of a violent pamphlet entitled *Herod and Pilate reconciled; or the Concord of Papist and Puritan for the coercion, deposition, and killing of kings discovered.* 4to., Camb. 1610. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian. Reprinted 1643, with title *Puritan-Jesuitismus; the Puritan turned Jesuite*; again 1652, 1663, and in Dutch 1660.

Hugh Broughton (mentioned before in connection with Ainsworth) wrote *An Admonition to Mr F. Blackwell, one of the Companie of Amsterdam, which damn all which come to Christian Churches, etc.* ? 1618. No original copy known, but included in his Works, fol., 1662; copies in many public libraries.

King James I issued *The Kinges Maiesties Declaration to His Subjects concerning lawfull Sports to be used.* 4to., 2-9pp., 1618; commonly called *The Book of Sports.* Original copies in the Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

E. Jessop wrote a *Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists. As also an Admonition to all such as are led by the like spirit of error. . . . By E.I., who sometime walked in the same errors with them.* 4to., 12-103pp., 1623. Copies in the Bodleian, and in Dr. Dexter's collection.

Patrick Scot, who a couple of years before had fabricated a "Recantation" in the name of the Scottish Presbyterian divine, David Calderwood, proceeded in 1625 to issue *Vox Vera: or*

Observations from Amsterdam. Examining the late insolencies of some Pseudo-Puritans, Separatists from the Church of Great Brittaine. 4to., 62pp. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

With this we may fitly close our notices of the anti-Puritan writings of the Jacobean age.

Among the earliest literary memorials of Puritan New England, the first place would naturally be claimed by the writings of GOVERNOR BRADFORD, but for the fact that they remained for 200 years in manuscript. We therefore begin with

R. CUSHMAN, one of the pilgrims who had embarked in the "Speedwell"; but being unable, on the abandonment of that vessel, to find a berth in the "Mayflower," he followed his comrades the succeeding summer. To him we owe

A Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in Nevv-England, December 9, 1621. In an assemblie of his Maiesties faithfull subiects there inhabiting, etc. With a Preface, Shewing the state of the Country, and Condition of the Savages, etc. 4to., 8-19pp., 1622. Only three copies of the original are known, one in the Bodleian, one in Dr. Dexter's collection, and one in a private library (C. Deane, LL.D.) at Cambridge, N.E., but there are at least fifteen reprints, more or less complete; including a facsimile (Boston, 1870), which is in the British Museum.

EDWARD WINSLOW, one of the most active of the "Mayflower" pilgrims, published

Good Newes from New England: or a true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New England, etc. 4to., 66pp., 1624. The only original copy I have heard of is in Dr. Deane's private collection (Cambridge, N.E.); but the work is accessible in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers." Boston, 1844.

More than twenty years later, one Samuel Gorton having made serious charges against the colonists, Winslow published

Hypocrisie Vnmasked: by A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusets against Samvel Gorton, etc. Together with a particular Answer to the manifold slanders and abominable falsehoods which are contained in a Book written by the said Gorton, and entituled Simplicities Defence, etc. Whereunto is added a briefe Narration (occasioned by certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England; the President of their Churches in the way and worship of God; their Communion with the Reformed Churches; and their practise towards those that dissent from them in matters of Religion and Church-Government. 4to., 8-104pp., 1646. Reprinted 1649, with another title, viz. *The Dangers of Tolerating Levellers in a Civil State etc.* Copies of the original are in the British Museum and the Bodleian, and in Dr. Dexter's collection. The *Brief Narration* is accessible in

Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers." In this is preserved the famous farewell address of John Robinson.

JOHN COTTON, who had been vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, emigrated in 1633, and became "teacher" of the first church at Boston, Massachusetts. His works, controversial, expository, and devotional, are very numerous. The following demand notice here :—

God's Promise to his Plantation, 4to., 4-20pp., 1630. Copies in the British Museum and two or three American libraries. Reprinted in 1634, and again at Boston in 1686. Copies of the reprints in several American libraries, but I know of none in England.

Questions and Answers upon Church Government. Dated 1634, but doubtful if printed so early. The only copy I find mentioned is at Yale College.

A Coppy of a Letter of Mr Cotton of Boston in New England, sent in answer of certaine Objections made against their Discipline and Orders there, Directed to a Friend. With the Questions propounded to such as are admitted to the Church-fellowship, and the Covenant it Selfe. 4to., 2-6pp., 1641. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The way of Life. Or, Gods Way and Course, in bringing the Soule into, keeping it in, and carrying it on, in the wayes of life and peace. 4to., 8-482pp., 1641. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

Gods Mercie mixed with his Justice, or his Peoples Deliverance in times of Danger. 4to., 16-135pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library and some American collections. Reprinted 1658 ; the reprint is in the British Museum.

Abstract or [error for *of*] *the Lawes of New England.* 4to., 16pp., 1641. I doubt if there is a copy in England. Reprinted 1655, and in the Massachusetts historical collection.

A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr Balls Discourse of set formes of Prayer. 4to., 4-52pp., 1642. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles. . . . A work very usefull and seasonable to every Christian, but especially such as endeavour and thirst after the setling of Church and State according to the Rule and Pattern of the Word of God. 16mo., 2-264pp., 1642. At Yale College, and in one or two private American libraries. Reprinted in 8vo., 1648, in the Congregational Library ; again in 1655, in the British Museum and other libraries.

The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fift and Sixt verses of the 20th Chap. of the Revelation. 4to., 30pp. Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Powring ovt of the Seven Vials : or an Exposition of the 16 Chapter of the Revelation, with an Application of it to our Times. Very fit and Necessary for this present age. 4to., 8-178pp. (but in several

series), 1642. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library. Reprinted 4to., 4-156pp., 1645.

The Doctrine of the Church, to which are Committed the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. 4to., 1642. The only copy I know of is in the Bodleian. A revised edition, 1643, is in the British Museum. Again reprinted, 1644.

The True Constitvtion of a particvlar Visible Church, proved by Scripture. 4to., 2-14pp., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof according to the VVord of God . . . . tending to reconcile some present differences about Discipline. 4to., 1644. There are at least three varieties of title page; also a 2nd edition of the same year. Copies in the British Museum, Congregational Library (2nd edn.), and several American libraries.

Sixteen Questions of Serious and Necessary Consequence, Propounded unto Mr John Cotton of Boston in New England, Together with his Answers to each Question. 4to., 2-14pp., 1644. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprinted, with slight variation of title, 1646 and 1647. The edition of 1647 is in the Congregational Library.

The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England, or the VVay of Churches walking in Brotherly equalitie, or Co-ordination, without Subjection of one Church to another, etc. 4to., 8-116-4pp., 1645. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Covenant of Gods Free Grace, Most Sweetly unfolded, & Comfortably applied to a disquieted Soul. 4to., 4-40pp., 1645. On pp. 34-40 is Davenport's "Profession of Faith" described below. In the Congregational Library.

The Controversie Concerning Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion. 4to., 2-14pp., 1646; reprinted 1649. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

The Grovnds and Endes of the Baptisme of the Children of the Faithfvll. Opened in a familiar Discourse by way of a Dialogue, or Brotherly Conference. 4to., 7-196pp., 1647. In the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

The following was elicited by Roger Williams's memorable treatise, "The Bloudy Tenet of Persecution"; to be noticed hereafter:—

The Bloudy Tenent, Washed, And made white in the bloud of the Lamb; being discussed and discharged of blond-guiltiness by just Defence. . . . Whereunto is added a Reply to Mr Williams Answer, to Mr Cottons Letter. 4to., 2-196-144pp., 1647. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance. 4to., 2-72pp., 1647. Reprinted 1650. The Reprint in Williams's and the Congregational Library.

The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: in two Treatises: in

the former, from the Historical Aspersions of Mr R. Baylie in his book called A Disswasive *etc.; in the latter, from some Contradictions of* Vindiciae Clavium *; and from some Mis-constructions of Learned Mr Rutherford in his Book entitled* The Due Right, *etc.* 4to., 12-104-44pp., 1648. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, Congregational, and other libraries.

Of the Holinesse of Church-Members, etc. 4to., 4-96pp., 1650. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries.

Christ the Fountaine of Life. 4to., 6-256pp., 1651. In the Congregational and other libraries.

The following works are posthumous.

Certain Queries Tending to Accommodation between the Presbyterian & Congregational Churches. 16mo., 2-22pp., 1654; reprinted the following year. Copies in the Yale and other American libraries.

A Briefe Exposition with Practicall Observations upon The Whole Book of Ecclesiastes. 16mo., 8-278pp., 1654. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational, and other libraries. Reprinted 1657; again, in 4to., 1868.

The New Covenant; or a Treatise, unfolding the order and manner of giving and receiving the Covenant of Grace. 16mo., 2-198pp., 1654. In the Congregational Library, and some American libraries. Reprinted 1655, 34-198pp., in the Bodleian, British Museum, &c.

An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation. 4to., 10-262-8pp., 1655. In the British Museum and Congregational Library. Reprinted in 1656.

A Practical Commentary on the 1st Epistle of John. Fol. 1656. This is not very rare; there are several editions.

A Censure of that Rev. and Learned Man of God, Mr J. C., lately of New England, upon the way of Mr Henden, etc. 4to., 1656. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Defence of Mr John Cotton from the Imputation of selfe-contradiction charged on him by Mr D. Cawdray, written by himself not long before his death. Edited by John Owen. 16mo., 100-83pp., 1658. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Library.

A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, as it is dispensed to the Elect Seed, effectually unto Salvation. I cannot find any account of the first edition. The second, 16mo., 26-250-2pp., 1659, and reissued 1662, is (in both issues) in the Congregational Library.

A Sermon at Salem in 1636, with Retraction of his former Opinion Concerning Baptism. 8vo., 2-40pp., 1713. In Prince Library, Boston, and that of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Treatise (1) Of Faith: (2) Twelve Fundamental Articles of Christian Religion; (3) A Doctrinal Conclusion; (4) Questions and Answers on Church Government. 16mo., 32pp., 1713. At Yale College.

John Winthorp, Governor of the company who formed the

settlement at Salem, Mass., published *The Humble Request of His Maiesties Loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company, late gone for New England; to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspitions and misconstructions of their Intentions.* 16mo., 1630. In the Bodleian; and in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Reprinted in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," and in the "Life and Letters of Winthorp," 1867.

A Short Story of the Rise, reign and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that infected the Churches in Nevv England, etc. With an introduction by Thomas Weld, first minister of the church at Roxbury. 4to., 20-66pp., 1644. There were three issues in the same year; one of them without the preface, and with the title *Antinomians and Familists Condemned.* In the British Museum, Bodleian and other libraries. Reprint 1692, in the Bodleian, Congregational Library, &c.

A Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlement of Massachussets, and the other N.E. Colonies from the year 1630 to 1644, &c. This remained in manuscript till 1790, when an incomplete edition was published at Hartford, Conn., 8vo., 6-364-4pp. The complete work was first printed in 1825, 8vo., 2 vols., 12-424 and 429pp. There is a revised edition 1853, 8vo, 2 vols, 20-514 and 504pp.

Thomas Weld (mentioned above) also wrote *An Answer to W. R.* [William Rathband], *his narration of the opinions and practices of the Churches lately erected in New England.* 4to., 1644; copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches of New England. Written in private to one that desired information therein; by an Inhabitant there, a Friend to Truth and Peace. 4to., 2-18pp., 1645, reprinted 1647. Both editions are in the Bodleian, and the first in the British Museum.

[Weld is also named as joint author with W. Durant, S. Hammond, and C. Sydenham—after his return to England—of a tract entitled *The False Jew*, 4to., 1654. It is an exposure of a religious impostor, and is in the Congregational Library, and elsewhere.]

John Higginson, another of the Salem Colonists, published *New Englands Plantation: Or, A Short and True Description of the Commoditties or Discommodities of that Countrey. Written by a reuerend Diuine now there resident.* Four impressions were issued in 1630; but I find no account of any copy but one in the library of the Massachussetts Historical Society. Reprinted in 1836, 8vo., 14pp.

W. Wood, *Nevv Englands Prospect. A true, lively and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called Nevv England: discovering the State of that Countrie, both as it stands to*

our new-come English Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants. 4to., 8-98-5pp., 1634; reprinted 1635, 1639, 1764, 1865. The only original copy noted is that preserved by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

John Davenport, B.D., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, retreated from persecution to Holland in 1631, migrated to New England in 1637, and became the first pastor at Newhaven. His principal writings are :—

A Protestation on occasion of a Pamphlet entitled "A Iust Complaint," &c., published by a nameless Person. 4to. Rotterdam, 1635. A copy is in Williams's Library.

An Apologeticall Reply to a Booke called "An Answer to the unjust Complaint of W.B." 4to., 1636; in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Profession of the Faith of that Reverend and Worthy Divine, Mr J. D., Sometimes Preacher of Stevens, Coleman Street, London. Made publiquely before the Congregation at his Admission into one of the Churches of God in New England. 4to., 8pp., 1642. In the Bodleian. Reprinted 1645; in the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

The Saints Anchor-Hold in all Storms and Tempests, preached in Sundry Sermons, and Published for the Support and Comfort of Gods People in all times of Tryal. 24mo., 8-232pp., 1661. In the British Museum, and several American libraries.

A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation, whose Design is Religion. 4to., 24pp., Cambridge, N.E., 1663. Wrongly ascribed to Cotton. In several American libraries.

Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, in Answer to Two Questions, Concerning (1) The Svbject of Baptism; (2) The Consociation of Churches. 4to. 16-72pp., Cambridge, N.E., 1603. The introduction is by Increase Mather. In the British Museum.

The Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated. 16mo., 10-164pp., 1672. A posthumous work. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

These are all the New England writers of importance whose *earliest* works were published before the setting up of the first printing-press in the Colony. Most of their writings, even those of later date, were printed in England. We may fitly close this series with the second English book printed in America—the first being merely an almanac.

The New England Psalter; commonly called "The Bay Psalm Book"; printed by Stephen Daye at Cambridge, N.E., 1640. The version is extremely literal, but the versification is rude even to absurdity. The authors were Thomas Weld, Richard Mather and John Eliot. The first edition, one of the rarest of rare books, con-

tained psalms only; to the second, 1647, a few spiritual songs were added; the third, 1650, was revised by President Dunster, of Harvard College, and contained a number of scripture songs, versified by W. Lyon. The book passed through about 70 editions, and was much used by English Nonconformists; competing with Sternhold and Hopkins and the Scottish version until the appearance of Watts's Psalms. The Congregational Library has two late editions, London 1697 and 1709.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

John Bunyan & Thomas Marsom

IN the December number of the *Transactions*, Dr. John Brown, commenting on an article by Rev. Silvester Horne, raised a controversy as to whether a certain Thomas Marsom, of Luton, was in prison with John Bunyan or not. It is certain that Marsom was fined, and had a distraint on his goods and chattels, and the question as to his imprisonment would scarcely justify another article were it not that a tablet, which, if Dr. Brown is right, "lifts the head and lies," has been erected to him in the Baptist chapel at Luton, and that the matter has an indirect bearing on the question of the time and place at which *The Pilgrim's Progress* was written.

The allegation rests on the following evidence:—

(1.) In a record of family events compiled by W. B. Gurney, he writes:—"In a concordance now in my possession, which was the property of my aunt, after a register by Thomas Marsom of the births of his children, which is in the same handwriting in which the entries in the church book of the Baptist church at Luton (which I have inspected) are made, there is the following entry in the handwriting of my grandfather Gurney:—'The above Thomas Marsom was Pastor of the Church at Luton, Bedfordshire. He gave the ground on which the Meeting House is built to the people, and, if I mistake not, fifty pounds

towards building the Meeting House. He was in the Ministry upwards of fifty years: suffered in Bedford Jail with John Bunyan, Mr. Wheeler of Cranfield, and others. He died January the twentieth, and his funeral sermon was preached January twenty-sixth, 1725-26, at Luton, by Mr. John Needham, of Hitchin, which is dedicated to his three sons Thomas, Nathan, and Samuel. Thomas, the eldest of the three brothers, was father to my first wife.'"

The statement that there is such an entry in the writing of Thomas Gurney (who died in 1770) rests on the testimony of W. B. Gurney, who wrote in 1840-45, and his brother Sir John Gurney, a Baron of the Exchequer, who read and revised the family record. Both were familiar with legal evidence, and both were credible witnesses. The handwriting of Thomas Gurney was well-known to both of them, for his MSS. were numerous. I have a note book of his, of 1723, in my possession.

Taking the existence of the entry in the handwriting of Thomas Gurney as proved, what were his means of knowledge and his trustworthiness? He married a granddaughter of Thomas Marsom, and if W. B. Gurney's recognition of the handwriting of Marsom in the concordance is correct, he must have been on intimate terms with him. He certainly lived in or near to Luton during the latter part of Marsom's life, and must have known him; probably he was a member of his church, for he was so prominent among the Baptists in that district that he was trustee for some of their meeting houses. He also well understood the value of evidence, and the testimony to his character is ample. He was a personal friend of Toplady and of Erasmus Darwin.

(2.) The entry is supported by tradition. W. B. Gurney states in his family record that he has personally derived information from his aunt (the daughter of the above Thomas and Martha, *née* Marsom), who lived to a great age, and in her early life frequently visited her relations in Bedfordshire, and knew not only her parents, but also her grandparents on both sides. W. B. Gurney writes in 1840:— "Living, as she did, to the age of 84, she was able to go back for 150 years for facts within the knowledge of those with whom she had conversed." She had known several of the Marsoms and also her grandfather, John Gurney (1681-1760), and other persons in Bedfordshire, to whom the fact one way or the other as to the imprisonment must have been known. The tradition comes also through Joseph Gurney (1744-1815). He discussed the matter on the spot with his father, "who shewed him the window of the room in which Bunyan and others were confined, which was over the gateway." He had previously said it was in the "Gaol." The room over the gateway of the gaol—not the "gatehouse on the bridge"—is, therefore, the place indicated by the Gurney-Marsom tradition.

Dr. Brown is mistaken in supposing that the statement dates from 1845. It rests, as above stated, (*a*) upon a memorandum written by a highly competent witness, who died in 1770; and (*b*) upon tradition handed down in a family which preserved documents, and passing in two currents, each through three persons only, viz: (1) John Gurney, his granddaughter Martha, and her nephew, W. B. Gurney, in whose writing we have

it; and (2) Thomas and his son Joseph and his son W. B. Gurney. The tradition is confirmed in some small particulars by facts which appear in Dr. Brown's book: *e.g.*, that there were sixty persons imprisoned with Bunyan, and that he made laces for sale. The name, too, of Wheeler of Cranfield, mentioned in the above memorandum, occurs in the list given by Dr. Brown.

Dr. Brown's arguments on the other side are:—

(1.) That Marsom, who died in 1726, would not have been old enough to be imprisoned with Bunyan between 1660 and 1672, or in 1675-6. We have no clue to Marsom's age except by inference from the date of his death, 1726. Some of his family lived to a great age, and it would not be safe to base an argument on his having died younger than 76. If he was born in 1650 he would have been 22 when Bunyan was released the first time, and 25 at the second imprisonment. We have the fact that his goods were distrained for a fine, and from that we may infer that he was old enough to be imprisoned.

(2.) That Marsom lived in Hertfordshire till 1694, and would, therefore, have been more likely to be imprisoned in Hertford than in Bedford gaol. The place of imprisonment would depend, not upon Marsom's residence, but upon the place where he was caught at a conventicle. If he was arrested in Bedfordshire he would be imprisoned in Bedford gaol. He was a member of the church at Kensworth, a place situated in a peninsula of Hertfordshire almost enclosed by Bedfordshire. If Marsom lived there he would have the county boundary about two miles to the north and less than two miles to the south of him. To suppose

that a youth of 18 or 20 would be debarred from attending a conventicle by a distance of two or three miles, or would concern himself about a county boundary, shews little appreciation of the enthusiasm of the time. Indeed, it is curious to observe that the Kensworth people had a reputation for going after good preaching. Archbishop Laud reported of them not long before:—"At Kensworth many go from their own churches by troupes after other ministers, which is a common fault in that part of the diocese" (Lincoln) "where the people are said to be very godly in matters of religion." But there is no trace of Marsom ever having lived at Kensworth. The Baptist church there had, according to Urwick's *History of Nonconformity in Hertfordshire*, a branch at Bedford and members at various other places. It would seem not improbable that Marsom was, as the tradition has it, originally an ironmonger at Luton, though a member of Kensworth church. At one time John Bunyan himself was a member, for he was "set apart," by a resolution of that church, as one of its "teachers" at Bedford. In view of these facts, there is certainly no improbability in Marsom having been imprisoned in Bedfordshire.

(3.) That Marsom's name is not mentioned among those released with Bunyan. We know that at one time sixty Nonconformists were imprisoned with Bunyan. And besides the sixty, some of whom must have been confined for short terms, there were doubtless others at other times. We have no complete list of their names, although a casual reader of Dr. Brown's article might suppose the contrary. The archives in the Record Office, in the Home Office, and in the county itself, have been searched in vain. All we have are the

names of six persons who petitioned for release, of four more who were released, and of another four mentioned elsewhere. Out of the sixty (*plus* an unknown number at other times) we have fourteen names altogether. Is a definite statement that Marsom was imprisoned with Bunyan to be set aside as untrue, merely because his name is not among the fourteen names we have ?

(4.) That if Marsom was one of many prisoners, the place of his confinement must have been the county gaol, not the lock-up on the bridge. That entirely accords with the tradition, and confirms it. Dr. Brown proceeds to say that "it is as certain as anything can well be that Bunyan wrote his Allegory not in the county gaol but in the lock-up on the bridge." Whether any fresh evidence has come to light since Dr. Brown's *Life of Bunyan* was written I do not know, but in that book we find no such certainty, although arguments are submitted with more or less confidence in support of that conclusion. The break in the narrative, towards the end of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, when he awoke from his dream, would be quite consistent with the hypothesis that the earlier part was written in the imprisonment, which ended in 1672, and the later chapters in 1675; and the doubt which Bunyan describes as to printing it would explain why he should have held back the work from publication until he had re-considered and completed it. But this is quite apart from the Marsom question.

(5.) That in the funeral sermon for Marsom there is no reference to his imprisonment. The sermon deals in general terms, and gives no particulars of Marsom's life. All we find there is that he "not only preached the truth of the Gospel, but, in a day of persecution and trial, stood

by it"; and further on that "he took joyfully the spoiling of his goods." It is strange, certainly, that such a fact as imprisonment was not specifically mentioned, but the character of the sermon must be considered. There is no attempt at a recital of the life history, which must have been well known to the congregation. Weighing the argument fairly, this silence must tell to some extent against imprisonment; but whether, standing as it does practically alone, it can counterbalance the positive evidence of the memorandum supported by tradition, each reader must judge for himself. Considering the weight given by our tribunals to such evidence, I have a confident belief that the verdict should be for the imprisonment; but, whichever way it goes, no one can say that the question is free from doubt. Therefore, as Dr. Brown tells us that "doubtful statements affect the historical mind very much as a false note in music strikes the musical ear," I can only regret to have added to his tortures; my plea must be respect for my ancestor and desire to establish the truth.

W. H. GURNEY SALTER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Some years since, when I was investigating the early history of Argyle Chapel, Bath, and endeavouring to test the value of the traditions respecting, I took a good deal of trouble to trace the date of a letter said to have been written by the Countess of Huntingdon to the ministers of her various chapels prohibiting Rowland Hill, Torial Joss, and some others, from preaching in any of her chapels. The reading of this letter in the Vineyard chapel here is said to have been the occasion of the secession which led to the establishment of the independent church now meeting at Argyle. I have examined all the memoirs of the Countess and Rowland Hill, and have been in correspondence with every person who I thought would be likely to throw any light upon it, but cannot find the least hint of any such communication. If you can help me in this way, I shall be much obliged.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM TUCK.

*

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF EARLY NONCONFORMIST HISTORY.

[See previous *Notes and Queries*]

In the collected works of Arthur Lake, who was bishop of Bath and Wells from 1616 to 1625, is a sermon, preached at St. Cuthbert's, Wells, when certain persons were put to penance for attending conventicles where a woman preached. When this fact came to my knowledge, last year, I endeavoured to obtain further information on the matter; but thus far without success. Enquiries made by Rev. W. Seager go to shew that no records of cases of discipline under Bishop Lake are known to exist in the diocesan archives; Archdeacon Ainslie informs me that the records of the archdiaconal court at that period have perished; and an examination of muniments at St. Cuthbert's, courteously made by the vicar (Rev. Canon Beresford), results in the discovery that nothing is to be found earlier than 1628, except baptisms, marriages, and burials. Yet the conventicles must have been *in* or *near* Wells; for the custom was that persons

should do penance either in their own parish or in the parish where the offence was committed. The meetings could not have been of Quakers, for George Fox was only born in 1624. They could scarcely have been Presbyterian, for a woman preacher would have been as great an offence to the old Presbyterians as to the Prelatists. We have no record of Brownists in Somerset before the Civil war; and though there is a tradition that the Baptist churches at Wedmore and Bridgwater originated about 1600, I am told by Rev. H. Trotman that the ancient records have perished. A woman preacher would not have been phenomenal or offensive to the early Baptists; but there is nothing in the sermon to indicate that the dissentients held any peculiarities of doctrine.

It would be interesting if any light could be shed on this question. Thus far we know neither the place of the conventicles, except that it must have been in or near Wells, nor the name of the preacher, nor those of the persons disciplined. The thought has occurred to me, could it have been the famous Dorothy Hazzard, formerly Kelly, of Broadmead Church, Bristol? She died "at a great age," in March, 1675, so might very well be 30 or more within Lake's episcopate. She became a widow for the first time in 1634, her first husband having been a grocer at Bristol; and was a Separatist before she became a Baptist. Her maiden name and birthplace are unknown; and there is no evidence whatever to connect her with the Somerset conventicles; but Bristol and Wells are barely twenty miles apart, and her extraordinary force of character suggests her as a likely leader in tentative Nonconformity.

However this may be, the incident is important as the earliest example yet known of a woman preacher in England. The date is uncertain, to the extent of six or seven years; but at the latest it must have been 25 years before the rise of the Society of Friends, 20 years before the women preachers mentioned by Edwards in the *Gangraena*, and 10 years before the appearance of Mrs. Hutchinson to scandalize Puritan propriety in New England.

From the *Gangraena*, 2nd edition, pp. 116-121, we learn that in 1645 there was a woman preacher in the Holland division of Lincolnshire, one in the Isle of Ely, more than one in Hertfordshire, and one at Brasted in Kent; but none of their names are given. There were also at least two connected with the Baptist church in Bell Alley, Coleman Street; one of them is described as a "lace-woman that sells lace in Cheapside, and dwells in Bell Alley;" the other as "a Major's wife living in the Old Bailey," who seems to have had no ultra-puritanical objection to jewels and costly attire. Which of these was Mrs. Attaway (concerning whom a query appeared in a former issue) is not quite clear; but it seems most likely that she was the lace-woman. Edwards tells of a meeting in Bell Alley, December 1645, in which they both took part; which

broke up in confusion owing to unseemly interruptions. After this they seem to have maintained a weekly meeting "in a house near the French church . . . . at one Mr. Hill's."

A summary is given of a sermon preached there by Mrs. Attaway, 8th January, 1646; the report is evidently somewhat of a caricature, but leaves no doubt that the preacher was what would now be called a Universalist. Edwards says, "In her exercise she delivered many dangerous and false doctrines; as, 1. That it could not stand with the goodnesse of God to damne his own creatures eternally. 2. That God the Father did raigne under the Law; God the Son under the Gospel; and now God the Father and God the Son are making over the kingdom to God the Holy Ghost, and He shall be powred out upon all flesh. 3. That there shall be a general Restauration, wherein all men shall be reconciled and saved. 4. That Christ died for All; with several other errors and conceits. She told them for her part she was in the wilderness waiting for the pouring out of the Spirit. . . . . If any one had any exception against what she had delivered, she was ready to give forth her light; and if they could demonstrate that she had preached any error, to hear them. She was desirous that all the glory should be given to God, ... she desired to lay down her crown at the feet of Christ, and wished that shame and confusion might cover her face for ever if she had any confidence in her selfe."

In the course of a discussion that followed Mrs. Attaway said, "When she and her sister began that exercise, it was to some of their own sex; but when she considered the glory of God was manifested in babes and sucklings, and that she was desired by some to admit of all that pleased to come, she could not deny to impart those things the Spirit had communicated to her."

T. G. CRIPPEN.

The Trendall Papers.

WITH SOME NEW FACTS RELATING TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

TWO or three years ago the Rev. W. Summers, now of Hungerford, found in the State Paper Office a series of documents relating to one John Trendall, who was imprisoned for holding conventicles in 1639. Trendall is an obscure person, and his persecution is of no great historic interest; but among the papers are two letters of R. Neile, Archbishop of York, which seem of considerable importance. One proves that Archbishop Laud was concerned in the judicial murder of Wightman the Arian, who was burned at Lichfield in 1612; the other, addressed to Laud himself, suggests "like exemplary punishment" for Trendall, less than fifteen months before the meeting of the Long Parliament.

It will suffice to give a brief summary of the documents relating immediately to Trendall. The Neile letters deserve to be reproduced at length. To avoid repetition it may be stated that Trendall was "a free mason," usually living at Battell Bridge in St. Tooley's (St. Olave's) parish, London; in November, 1638, being about 50 years old, he came to Dover, "and wrought in his Matie's works in Aucliffe Bulwark neare this towne for makeing a wall about the same." He had a wife and two children, and kept a young man of 18 as servant.

The reference-marks of the papers are, Do. Chas. I. ccccxxvii. 78 & 80, ccccxxxii. 27, ccccxxxvi. 15.

I. Brief note from Will. Becher, Whitehall, 9 Nov. 1639, to Mr Mottershed, at the office of the High Commission; enclosing Examinations and Letters.

(1) Letter of Mayor and jurats of Dover to Abp. Laud, n.d. [but evidently 27 July 1639], enclosing examinations of Trendall and others. He "of late hath occasioned conventicles in and about this towne, taking uppon him there to expound the Scriptures both to men and women, spread sundry opinions repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England, and refuseth to take the oath of Supremacie to his Matie." "Humblie praying that wee may receave yr Grace's order and comaundement herein, for p'vention of further mischiefe likely

to be done in this towne by him, who hath alreadie seduced manie, and inclined them to his opinions."

(1 *a*) Examination of Trendall, 27 July 1639, "before Thomas Day Esq. Maior of the said towne and port," and eight jurats, named. He "confesseth that hee hath not since his being in this towne beene at either of the churches to hear divine service and sermons, and saith that his conscience will not serve him to yeild to the worship under the Bishop's power here used (as hee conceiveth). Hee denieth that the Lord's praier is a praier, and for the Creed or Beliefe, hee saith hee hath nothing to do with it, nor doth approue of it. Hee denieth that hee hath drawne any p'sons togeather into conventicles to instruct them in any points of religion, but confesseth that some p'sons haue come to him to his house, and that hee hath been at diuerse of the inhabitants' houses in this towne, being sent for, and hath there conversed with them, but refused to declare their names."

(1 *b*) Examination of Joane wife of William Tyddeyman, Mariner; same date. She had been acquainted with Trendall about three months, had been often at his house, and he at hers about four times. He and his wife, William Tatnell, ten others named, and others being strangers, were at her house on a Sunday for several hours; when Trendall "took a text of Scripture, and did explain the same and instruct them in the words. He maintayned that our Saviour Christ is Lord and King of the church wch is his body, and the like doctrines, and that same Sunday they did sing the 118 Psalme from the fifteenth verse to the end, and the 84 Psalme. Shee saith that shee hath heard that the said Trendall doth maintaine that the Lord's praier is not a praier, but the ground or forme of praier, and that Christ's ordinances are not in our church, and shee herself hath found the same, and that shee hath found great comfort in the said Trendall's companie and by his instructions ...Shee hath heard the said Trendall say that such ministers that haue their power from the Bishop have it by false power."

(1 *c*) Examination of John Haselwood, Shoemaker; same time and place. He was at Tyddeyman's house on a recent Sunday, "where were diuerse p'sons of this towne, whose names hee refuseth to declare; and that John Trendall...then and there took a text of Scripture and expounded the same: the chapter and words he remembreth not...hee hath heard the said John Trendall say that our ministers come not into the church according to Christ's rule and order."

(2). Second enclosure, in letter No. I, containing :—

(*2a*) Examination of Edward Goodman, Shoemaker. On a certain Sunday he went to Tyddeyman's house "to heare what reasons John Trendall could giue that it was not lawful to heare our ministers preach in our churches"..."Trendall then and there took a text of Scripture, the words hee now remembreth not, wch he did expound...and afterwards fell upon the said point, that it was unlawfull to heare our ministers preach in the churches, and his mainest reason was (*sic*) of his opinions was for that our ministers were made by Bishops." On another occasion "the said Trendall after his prayer, wherein hee remembreth not that he prayed for the King, took a text of Scripture out of the old testament, the words he remembreth not, and expounded the same, and hee saith his exposicon was about one houre and a halfe"..." and so the said examinate hence departed, not satisfied with his opinions, wch hee utterly disclaymed."

(*2b*) Examination of William Tatnell, Shipwright. This is very similar to the foregoing; adding that Trendall discoursed in the forenoon on Isaiah li. 7, and in the afternoon on 1 John iii. 4, "which text he deuided and raised uses and instructions thereon, of wch hee the examinate tooke notes in writing." Afterwards Tatnell "demaunded of him whether that wch was able to beget faith were not able to nourish it; wch Trendall denied not, but gave not him any satisfactorie answer therein;"..."lastly saith that hee doth not in any way adhere to his opinions."

(*2c*) Examination of Thomas King, of Allhallows Parish, London. He had known Trendall about six years, and came to Dover a few months ago. On a recent Sunday he was at Tyddeyman's house, "the cause of his being there was to trie the spiritts whether they were of God or noe as the word of God directeth him; but remembreth not the texts of Scripture nor any question then and there moued touching our church or ministers. Being demanded whether hee doth agree with Trendall in his opinions, hee saith that hee knoweth not what his opinions are."

(*2d*) Examination of Anne Broome. On a Sunday named she was at Tyddeyman's house with others; where Trendall prayed, and expounded Rom. xii. 1. for about an hour. "Being demaunded whether the said Trendall did not then discourse touching the unlawfulnesse of our ministers, whether the Lord's praier were a praier or not, and concerning the church's government, saith hee then and there speake some things hereof, but used not p'suasion to her this examinate therein, and that shee is not of his judgmt. in any of his opinions."

(*2e*) Examination of Susan Lee. She adds nothing of moment to the statement of Anne Broome.

(*2 f g*) Examinations of Elizabeth Hogben and Joane Crux. They endorse the statement of Anne Broome ; the latter adds "that shee is not, neither will bee of the judgmt. of the said John Trendall, or of any of the opinions wch. the said John Trendall holdeth."

(3) Letter of Abp. Neile of York ; see (1) below.

II. Copy of letter of the Mayor of Dover to Sir John Cooke, Secretary of State, 24th Aug. 1639. Acknowledges Commission to administer the oath of supremacy "to John Trendall a prisoner here"; reports that said prisoner "this p'sent day tooke y^e^ said Oath, as I haue by my Certificate to the Writ annexed certified their Honors"..."The enclosed book came lately to my hand. I thought it my duty to send it to your Honors, according to his Matie's late p'clamation in that behalfe." The book referred to is a copy of the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland. The certificate bears that Trendall had taken the oath before the Mayor in the Guildhall, and had been remanded "to be kept close prisoner untill I shall receive further directions concerning his p'son from yr Honors."

The prisoner seems to have been brought to London ; as the next document is

III. Extracts from the Acts of the Court of High Commission ; viz :—

15 Nov. 1639. Trendall being thrice publicly called for, and not appearing as he had been enjoined, the deputy registrar was required "to attend the Clerk of the Council, and certify the said Trendall's neglect."

21 Nov. "Trendall having refused his oath [*presumably the ex-officio oath*] was ordered to be brought hither by the next Court day, and to be declared *pro confesso* if he refuse then."

28 Nov. "The articles to be reviewed by some of the Commissioners, and if Trendall then take not his oath by the next Court day, he is to be declared *pro confesso*, liberty being granted him to confer with any divine in the presence of his keeper."

IV. Petition of the gaoler of Dover to the Council for payment of charges incurred in keeping "John Trender (*sic*), a very poor man, prisoner about fifteen weeks," and bringing him "before the Lords, by whom he is now committed to the Fleet prison." Petition not dated, but under-written, "Whitehall, 20 Decr. 1639."

V. Minute of warrant "to pay to John Reston, keeper of Dover prison, £15 for his pains and charges in keeping John

Trender, and bringing him up from Dover to London" ; dated 27 Jany. 1640.

Richard Neile or Neyle was Bishop of Rochester, 1608-10 ; of Lichfield, 1610-13 ; Lincoln, 1613-17 ; Durham, 1617-27 ; Winchester 1627-32 ; and Archbishop of York, 1632-40. He died in the year last named, a few days before the meeting of the Long Parliament. Laud was his chaplain for several years from 1608 or -9 onward. The following letters are given verbatim.

(I). To the right worll. my very loving friend Sir Dudley Carleton Knight, one of the Clarkes of his Mat.'s most honoble. privy Counsell be these delivered at ye Counsell chamber at Whitehall, or else where with speed. The post is paid.

Salutem in Xro.

Good Sir, I received your lres. of the 3 of August, whereby you signified to me the pleasure of the most Honoble ye Lords of his Matie's privie Counsell that I should certifye to yr. Lorps. ye p'ceeding held with ye blasphemous Heretique Wightman that was burnt at Lichfield while I was Bishop there. I desire to understand from you in what p'ticulars their Lorps. doe require to be certified ; for the generality of my proceedings with him my Lord's Grace of Canterbury can informe their Lorps. ; for he was with me, and assisted me in all ye p'ceedings against Wightman from ye beginning to ye end. If it be their Lorp's. pleasure that I certifie particularities, vizt. what his blasphemous opinions were, what sentence was given against him, and what certificate thereof was made to his Matie, whereupon issued his Matie's writt to burne him ; I must craue some time to looke up my papers, wch are now at my house at Bishopsthorp, and myself being at my house at Cawood, some 6 miles from thence, and it will require some time to transcribe copies of them.

It may please you to understand that this Wightman discouered himselfe by a petition delivered at Roiston to my then master of blessed memory King James, who, finding that he was of my Diocesse, sent him to me to my dwelling then at Westminster with comandment to me to remit him to ye Gatehouse, and to take examinacon of his severall opinions under his owne hand, wch I did, using many conferences with him by myselfe and by other learned divines to make him see his blasphemous heresies, and to reclaime him. This course of Conference was held with him from about a weeke after Easter till the middle of October, in all which time no good could be wrought upon him, but he became every day more obstinate in his blasphemous heresies, whereupon my blessed master K James comaunded me to send him downe to Lichfield, and my selfe to goe after him, there to p'ceed against

him as a blasphemous heretique. At my coming to Lichfield, being there assisted with sundry divines of very good note, we began with him by divers dayes conference, but to no purpose. Then we proceeded in a legall way against him in ye Consistory; but after sundry dayes past in a legall manner of p'ceeding, and three assignations for sentence, we appointed a day for sentence, wch was executed in ye bodye of ye Church, and before ye sentence denounced, myselfe began ye business with a sermon and confutation of his blasphemies against ye Trinity of persons in ye Unity of ye Eternal Godhead, the other divines that assisted me each of them confuting one of ye pointes of his blasphemous opinions. To all which he no way relenting, but p'sisting in his blasphemies, I read ye sentence against him to be a blasphemous heretique, and to be accordingly certified to ye Secular power, whereupon his Matie's writt was directed to ye Sheriffe of ye County of ye Cittie of Lichfield to burne him as a heretique. Upon the writt, he being brought to ye stake, and the fire scorched him a little, he cried out that he would recant. The people thereupon ran into the fire, and suffered themselves to be scorcht to save him. There was then prepared a form of recantation offered to him, wch he then read and p'fessed before he was unchayned from ye stake; hereupon he was carried back to prison, and after a fortnight or three weeks' tyme of pausing upon his recantation, he was brought into ye Consistory, there to declare his recantation, and to denounce his said blasphemous heresies in a legall way, that ye same might remain *apud acta* in ye Court, done deliberately upon better resolution and in truth, and not in terror of ye fire. When he came into ye Consistory he blasphemed more audaciously than before. His Sacred Matie being informed of this his behaviour, comanded ye writt for ye burning of him to be renewed, wch was sent down and executed, and he died blaspheming. This is that concerning ye p'ceeding against Wightman that on ye sodaine I can relate, wch I pray you, together with my most humble and bounden duty and service, to present to their Lorps. And if I may by the next post understand from you what further information or p'ticulars their Lorps. will require, I will do my indeavor to performe their Lorps. comands.

And so I commit you to God, and rest, your very loving friend,

R. EBOR.

Ffrom Cawood Castle,
9no August, 1639.

[Sealed with the Archiepiscopal arms]

The following is not enclosed with the former.

(II). To ye most Rd. ffather in God my Right honoble good Lord

and Brother ye Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury his Grace, one of His Mat's most honoble Privy Counsell.

Sal. in Xto.

May it please yor Gr.,

I have for some weeks past forborne to trouble you with my lres., not having anything of importance to write of, being assured that uppon his Mat's. retorne you have yor hands full of great business, and that time is precious with you.

I received a fortnight since a lre. from Sr. Dudley Carleton, clarke of the Counsell, signifieing yor and the rest of ye Lords of the Counsell's pleasure that I would certifie the p'ceedings against Wightman at Lichfield, there being now the like accasion of p'ceeding against one Trendall a blasphemous Heretick, to wch lre. I instantly ye same day returned such an answer as uppon my memory on ye sodaine I could, being at Cawood, and my pap's at Bishopsthorpe. Since wch time I have sent for my pap's that concerne that business, and I do here send to yr. Gr. a copy of all the legall proceedings with him, and a copy of the certificate made to his Matie. of blessed memory, whereupon the writt to burne him issued forth. The copy of ye writt it selfe I send not, for that it is to be had out of the Rolles. Yor Gr. will find an error of the Regester's, wch you must pardon, that he hath sett Mr Fulnetby before yor Grace in the speech that you had at the censuring of him.

Your Grace will find by ye reading of the Book of ye Acts and his examinacon and confessions that before my proceeding in a legall course against him, I brought him before the High Comission, where uppon examinacon he avowed his damnable blasphemous heresies and opinions. But ye High Comision forbore to censure him, but left him to me to p'ceed against him as his Ordinary. The proceedings against Legate at ye same time were alike, whose punishment I am p'suaded did a great deal of good in this Church. I feare me ye present times do require like Exemplary punishment; wch I referr to your Grace's grave consideracon. I will not trouble yr. Gr. with anything els at this tyme, but only entreat yt. you will make it knowne to the Lords that I have sent you these things. So with my prayers for your health, welfare, and happy successe in all your businesse, I rest,

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,
R. EBOR.

From my house at Cawood Castle,
August 23rd, 1639.

[Sealed with the Archiepiscopal arms : the enclosures are missing]

What opinions Trendall may have avowed before the High Commission is unknown ; all that appears in the Dover examinations is, that he was strenuously opposed to episcopacy and all set forms of prayer, and had some undefined objection to the Creed. And for this, in August, 1639, the Lords of the Council and the two Archbishops were seriously considering whether or not to burn him !

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

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The Congregational Historical Society

Meeting in Elgin Place Church, Glasgow.

The second Autumnal meeting of the Society was held in the lecture room, Elgin Place church, Glasgow, on the afternoon of Tuesday, September 23rd., 1902.

The chair was occupied by the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, B.A., D.D., (Bowdon), in the unavoidable absence of the President. Prayer was offered by the Rev. W. H. MUNCASTER, M.A., B.D., (West Bromwich). An apology for absence was read from the President, who much regretted his inability to be present, but, as it was the opening day of Mill Hill school, it was impossible.

In his remarks Dr. MACKENNAL spoke highly of the work of the Society, and urged an enthusiastic interest being kindled in the search into origins. He indicated certain directions in which such research was most necessary and likely to be most fruitful, namely :—

(*a*) On the early history of the Separatist Communities.

(*b*) On the relation between early Independents and Presbyterians.

(*c*) On the breach between Independents and Presbyterians, and the origin of the Unitarian churches in England.

(*d*) On the history of the Evangelical Revival.

He also urged the advisability of visiting the colleges, and seeking to interest their authorities in the serious study of Congregational history.

The Rev. J. STARK, D.D., (Aberdeen), then read a paper of great interest, which is printed in full in the present number of the *Transactions*. A vote of thanks to Dr. Stark was proposed by the Rev. J. WEMYSS, M.A., and seconded by the Rev. T. GASQUOINE, B.A.

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Historical Points of Contact between English and Scottish Congregationalism

THE pedigree of Congregationalism in the United States of America, Australia, and most parts of the British Empire, cannot be traced to the fountain-head without taking note of what transpired in England while one of the most stirring and memorable pages of its history was in the making. It is not so with Scottish Congregationalism. The Congregational pilgrim from across the Atlantic, intent upon keeping in lively remembrance the beginnings of the form of church life which is associated with much that is strenuous and noble in the history of the new world, wends his way to Scrooby, Gainsborough, or some of the other places which derive their chief lustre from the memory of men of faith and courage who contended for the spirituality and freedom of Christ's Church and were treated as the offscourings of the earth for their pains. But the Scottish Congregationalist finds his shrine in Airthrey, near Bridge of Allan, which, more than a hundred years ago, was sold by the proprietor, Robert Haldane, to give effect to the Congregationalism that became in Scotland the chosen sheath of the revived evangelicalism of which he was one of the chief promoters. Congregationalism was vaguely known in Scotland long before that time as a foreign and dangerous thing which now and again ventured

to shew its head across the border. At every ordination, and even communion service, it was up to a comparatively recent period specially mentioned as one of those deadly things to be shunned. Independency was denounced along with popery, prelacy, Arminianism, Erastianism, Quakerism, as a heresy, the holding of which was sufficient to debar from the table of the Lord.

Presbyterianism Scotland's Early Friend

Before holding up our hands at the incredible narrowness and intolerable fanaticism of Scottish Presbyterianism it may be well to keep fully in view a few notable facts relating to the history of that land. It has to be remembered that national independence was at that period, and long before, the sovereign idea of the Scottish mind. A small nation, not numbering more than half a million at the time of the Reformation, placed alongside a powerful and aggressive race, Scotsmen had to fight more or less for centuries for their bare existence, and they had ever to be on their guard against encroachment. That, of course, intensified their sense of nationality and heightened their appreciation of all their distinctive institutions. Since 1560 Presbyterianism (at first it must be owned not very pronounced, and through the influence of the large-minded and practical Knox having a little of the savour of Congregationalism) had been their constant companion and faithful partner in all their struggles, first with Romanism, and afterwards with episcopacy; and hence it came in a sense to be bound up with their nationality and their patriotic defence of it. Presbyterianism, through Andrew Melville and its other valiant promoters, had done much for them

as a people in securing emancipation from tyranny civil and ecclesiastical ; and made almost desperate by incessant aggression they were not in a mood to split hairs about modes of church government, nor were they disposed to do anything else but look askance at all newfangled systems which threatened to displace what they regarded as the bulwark of their liberties. Not only so, but it has to be remembered that it was only through their Presbyterian religion that there was for long any recognition of popular rights of any kind. Scotland, politically, was far behind England at that time. The Scot is slow to move, and as Hugh Miller testifies—and he should know, for he is a typical Scot, if there is one—he was never roused to action except by the big interests of country and religion. In ordinary politics, such as contention for right of way, Scotland was immeasurably behind England. The Scot could turn against his king now and again when his blood was up ; but seldom in olden times against the laird. Thus it came about that the General Assembly of the Church was practically the only Parliament of the people, the indirect but only form of popular representation which the nation then had. Take in connection with that the fact that at least as a dogma and polity religion was the great overshadowing interest of that time. It was the only thing, as historians have pointed out, for which Scotland was then known. It was by the working of a kind of rough and ready theocracy that Scotland won its fame among nations. Can we wonder then that Presbyterianism, which came to be intertwined with what was most sacred and precious in the eyes of the people, should be able to put at a disadvantage every competing form of church life ?

Invasion of England's Independency

Long before it had any appreciable footing there were casual appearances of Independency in Scotland, for which England was responsible as it was for other unsuccessful invasions. Browne himself, that arch-heretic, was for some time there; but, poor man, he must have felt himself indeed to be a pilgrim and a stranger. Intermittent growls against "Brownism" are heard in presbytery and Assembly. In 1647 an Act of Assembly was passed clearly indicating the fear of church rulers that Independency, like any other plague, might extend to Scotland—"Considering how the errors of Independency and separation have in our neighbour kingdom of England spread as a gangrene, and do daily eat as a canker, and how possible it is for the same evils to invade and overspread the kirk and kingdom by the spreading of erroneous books, pamphlets, libels, and letters, and by conversing with them that are infected by these errors, the Assembly inhibited and discharged all ministers of kirk and kingdom to converse with persons tainted with such errors." If we are to judge of the propagating zeal and industry of English "sectaries" in the 17th century by the numerous allusions to them in Scottish ecclesiastical deliverances, there must have been much done that is unchronicled. There were points of contact between Scottish Presbyterianism and English Independency in the great Westminster Assembly which are exceedingly interesting, but not such as many on this side of the border care to dwell upon. Principal Baillie, in his letters to the General Assembly, admitted that the Independents at Westminster were men most able and of great credit. Yet he bitterly complained of their "unreasonable obstinacy." His special grievance

was that they aimed at "toleration," or "full liberty of conscience to all religions without exception." Further on in one of his letters Baillie said that he and his co-presbyters proposed not to meddle with Independency in haste "till it please God to advance our [Scottish] army, which we expect will much assist our arguments"! But alas for Scottish pride!—the army was as little able to withstand the Ironsides as the presbyters were the Westminster arguments. The public prominence given to Independency through the accession to power of Cromwell did not tend to lessen the dread of it in the breasts of Scottish ecclesiastics, as it gave them less hope than ever of the idol of Scotland obtaining its place—enforced uniformity of religious belief and practice after the Presbyterian pattern. It has been matter of wonder to some that the presence of General Monk and his Cromwellian army in Scotland did not give an impetus to the spread of our principles in this part of the island. But how could it ever be expected that a proud—not to say stiff-necked—people like the Scots could be prevailed upon to accept their religion from the hands of a conqueror? And it has to be remembered that Cromwell had not the spirit of a proselytiser. He was an Independent, but, like every true man bearing that name, he was a Christian first, and where the Christianity was really experimental and spiritual he was so much at home with its professors that he had no wish to introduce disturbing polemics. He was a man ages before his time, and, if she did not take his Independency, Scotland took some of the other benefits of his sagacious rule, for even historians prejudiced against him are obliged to admit that the government of Cromwell was just and enlightened as well as strong, and left a mark for good that is not yet effaced.

That was a beautiful coming together of Scottish Presbyterianism and English Independency in the persons of Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, Cromwell, and Dr. Owen. After the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar, Jaffray the captive, in conversation with the general and his chaplain, was won over to Independency, which he brought with him to the granite city, where it blossomed into Quakerism, so congenial to his gentle, mystic spirit. William Clarke,* who was secretary to General Fairfax, gives us glimpses in his letters of what was going on when the dogged and somewhat self-complacent Presbyterians of the day were brought face to face with a religion less formal but brimful of vitality, drawn directly from Scripture and personal experience. We are indebted to the recent publications of the Scottish History Society, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, for a most interesting lightening up of that period.† We read of army chaplains conducting private religious meetings and occasional disputations on knotty theological points between them and Scottish ministers, when for tenacity of belief and pertinacity of assertion it was truly Greek meeting Greek. "If but few converts were made in the south, it was reported in the north, in Sutherland, there was a very precious people, and when Deane marched into the Highlands, news came from his forces that some of the Highlanders have heard our preaching with great attention and groanings and seeming affection.‡" So reports the secretary already referred to. A

* Born about 1623. His manuscript collections are now in the library of Worcester College, Oxford.

† *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 53-4.

‡ *Scotland and the Commonwealth* pp. 31 : 364.

few Independent congregations or "gathered churches"—that is the favourite designation—were established in the Lowlands in 1652. The names of eight ministers are given who became converts to Independency. An important letter from General Monk to the Protector bearing upon this point cannot be omitted :—

> "May it please Your Highnesse,
>
> The enclosed, expressing the desires of sundery Congregationall ministers who have been instruments of much good in Scotland, I shall only present to your Highnesse considerations that your Highnesse will please to give such further orders or explanations of the former ordinance as may incurrage them to goe on in that good worke, which they have begun, which may tend to the advantage of the Kingdome of Jesus Christe and promote the interest of your Highnesse and the common wealth of England in this nation.
>
> Dalkeith, 19 September, 1654."

Bitter complaints were made by the members of the "gathered churches" and their foster-parents from England that more countenance was not given at headquarters to such propagating work. It is evident that Cromwell and his officers, as time went on, saw very plainly that, supposing they were inclined to become sowers of Congregational seed, Scotland was not a promising field for their operations, and that the principal effect of such interference would be to arouse the jealousy of the Presbyterian Church and add to the numerous difficulties which beset those responsible for the government of the country. All the evidence goes to shew that while those little "gathered churches" in various parts of Scotland did good in offering for a time choice spirits like Jaffray of Aberdeen an opportunity of enjoying a freer and

more spiritual communion, they were short-lived, the members generally going back to Presbyterianism and a few becoming absorbed in Quaker communities. There may have been little obscure fellowships in Scotland more or less upon the lines of the "gathered churches" for years after the death of Cromwell; but the next time that Congregationalism appears upon the scene in notable and historic form was through the action of John Glas, parish minister of Tealing, near Dundee. The sect of which Glas was the founder (somewhere about 1730) bore his name till a follower and son-in-law named Sandeman developed and extended the views held, and then the competing and overshadowing designation, "Sandemanian," was introduced. The testimony of this little body, while mainly doctrinal and practical, had also its ecclesiastical side, Congregationalism being set forth as the Scriptural form of church government. The Congregationalism and other departures from orthodox opinion brought upon Glas expulsion from the Church of his fathers. That Congregationalism was not transplanted, but grew from seed. It was, however, carried to England and America, where it still exists, but there, as in Scotland, attenuated and at the last gasp.

The Haldanes and the Evangelical Revival

Passing over other little bodies more or less defunct, in which our polity plays a part, let us come to Congregationalism, which is still a spiritual force in Scotland. Little more than a hundred years old, it is the outcome of a great evangelical revival in that land associated with such honoured names as Robert and James Haldane, John Aikman, and Greville Ewing. It was entirely

a spontaneous and indigenous product, in the sense of not having been planted by any sectarian proselytiser from the south or any other quarter of the globe. It came into existence through the force of Providentially ordered circumstances and the reverent study of God's Word. Congregationalism came because the men who brought it were determined to have freedom in the use of lay and other Gospel agencies, including Sabbath schools; and also that they might have better scope for their conception of a spiritual fellowship than many existing Churches allowed at that time. Many of the best members of our infant churches were godly seceders who longed for more missionary enterprise both at home and abroad. We owed not a little to the informal prayer meetings—"praying societies"—scattered over the land, which were one of its most persistent and potent spiritual forces, the precurser of the Reformation, the Secession, the Disruption, and all our great religious movements.

Still, English Congregationalism had a very considerable hand in giving shape to things as they are amongst us, particularly in the north of Scotland. One of the founders of the mother church in Aberdeen was converted to our views by an English book bearing the long title of *An inquiry into the constitution, discipline, unity, and worship of the Primitive Church that flourished within the first three centuries after Christ faithfully collected out of the extant writing of those ages.* The author of this treatise was Peter King, the near kinsman of John Locke, who became Lord High Chancellor of England. Verily this is a strange conjunction of orbs in the ecclesiastical firmament! The highest legal dignitary in England two hundred years ago puts himself to the pains of publishing a book advocating Independency! A

hundred years later a humble Aberdonian gives practical effect to Lord King's ideas, drawn from the writings of the early Church, which I am afraid the Lord High Chancellor of England had not the moral courage to do, and the minister of the church thus founded is here to-day to tell you the story! Dr. Bennett of London, Dr. Bogue of Gosport, and other eminent English Congregationalists of that time, acted as advisers and nursing fathers to some of the infant churches of our order. English Nonconformist students attending Scottish universities, denied the privileges at home which they had here (Robert Hall, the famous Baptist preacher, was a student at King's College, Aberdeen, and had as a bosom friend James Macintosh, the philosopher and politician,) rendered valiant service to the rising churches. A standing proof of the influence English Congregationalism had in shaping, to some extent, our churches in Aberdeenshire lies in the fact that in that part the observance of the communion has ever been monthly, whereas in other churches of our body in Scotland it was from their origin weekly, and is so still in some of them. English Congregationalism helped also to temper the rigorous literalism and narrow, petty dogmatism into which many of our fathers fell after the aggressive ardour of early days began to cool, and a pragmatical, divisive spirit, which for generations was the weakness of Scottish religious life, began to shew itself. Dr. Lindsay Alexander of Edinburgh tells us that not a few Scottish Congregationalists went "astray in holding that they were religiously bound to conform their ecclesiastical usages in the minutest particulars and under all circumstances to what is supposed to have been the practice of the primitive churches, and that it was also the imperative duty of every man who has embraced an opinion to make use of all means in

his power to bring everybody else to that opinion." The following were some of the questions which agitated our churches in those early days—Whether collections should be made at the church door on Sabbath; whether the Lord's Supper may be observed by the church without the elders; whether that ordinance should be observed once a week or once a month; whether the mutual exhortation of the brethren be not a bounden duty; whether church discipline should be exercised only on Sabbath. Such microscopic conscientiousness and misplaced intensity did much mischief at the time, and would have done more but for the steadying effect of the older and soberer Congregationalism of common-sense England, whose friendship our fathers proved at a very early period. In those early days of struggle, rendered all the more intense as the founders of our Scottish churches were not ecclesiastical leaders but spiritual heralds, and planted churches not where there was the prospect of a "rising cause" but where there was clamant spiritual need,—at that time English Congregationalism acted a most generous part.* Deputations went from time to time to England to plead the cause of our rural churches and the missionary operations of our Congregational Union. We read of Ewing of Glasgow visiting Norfolk and Suffolk, Orme of Perth, latterly of Camberwell, London, going through Essex and London, and Wardlaw in Lancashire and northern counties doing for the saints in Scotland what Paul did for the saints at Jerusalem. Winter, Burder, Waugh, Clayton, Raffles, were conspicuous among our helpers.

* See *Biography of Rev. John Watson*, by Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., and also *Memoir of Greville Ewing*, by his daughter.

Scottish Contributions to English Congregationalism

By and by our Scottish Congregationalism became so strong, at least in the men it reared, that it was able to pay back to England what it had received in better coin than that of the realm. We are familiar with Dr. Johnson's characteristic observation that the loveliest scene a Scotsman can behold is the high road that leads to England. Be that as it may, it is matter of history that many of our ablest men took the road which led to influential spheres in English Congregationalism. Campbell of Kingsland, Morrison of Chelsea, Kennedy of Stepney, Spence of the Poultry, Legge of Leicester, his brother of China, latterly of Oxford University, Raleigh, Hannay, in more recent times Fairbairn, Hunter, Forsyth, are some of the names which can readily be recalled. A host of missionaries went from our little country churches to various parts of the world. Milne, Philip, Moffat, Livingstone, Kennedy, Chalmers, and many more of the London Missionary Society, owed not all, but most of them what was best in them, to the training they had received in Scottish Congregational churches. Distinguished laymen also, who have taken an important part in the public life of England, belong to our stock. Birrell, the well-known essayist and member of Parliament, is the grandson of one of the founders of our church in Kirkcaldy. Daniel Macmillan, of the famous publishing firm, acknowledges how much he owes to the early Independents of Arran, as we find in the biography of him by Thomas Hughes. Adam Black, the founder of another publishing firm, was for the greater part of its history indentified with the church in Edinburgh which had Dr. Lindsay Alexander as its pastor. Can we not believe that the coming together of

North and South in the past is the shadowing forth of some sort of alliance or federation which shall enable them to a still larger extent to have the full benefit of each other ?

JAMES STARK.

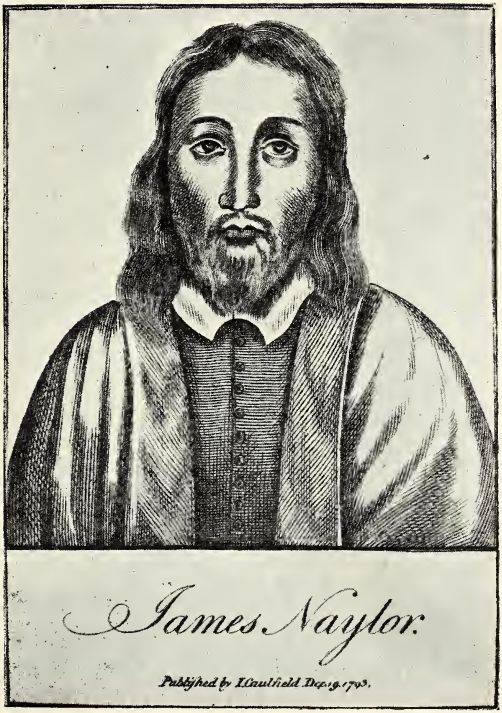
James Nayler, the Mad Quaker

THE middle of the seventeenth century was marked by the prevalence of a great number and variety of religious opinions opposed to the doctrine, worship and discipline of Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, no less than to the Episcopal Church, which was overthrown in the Puritan Revolution.

This was due to many causes, such as the excitement of the public mind on religious matters, the lessening of traditional authority in faith and practice, the relaxation of the power of the State in enforcing uniformity, the reaction from dogmatism and formalism, and the incapacity to make a sober use of liberty, arising from previous neglect of religious teaching.

Thomas Edwards, the Presbyterian minister of Christ Church, London, in a book entitled *Gangræna; or a catalogue of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of this time*, (1646), arranged the sectaries under sixteen general heads. But, as Neal remarks, "very few of these were collected into societies; his business was to blacken the adversaries of Presbyterian Uniformity, that the Parliament might crush them by sanguinary methods. Among his heresies there are some which do not deserve that name; and among his errors some that never grew into a sect, but fell occasionally from the pen or lips of some wild enthusiast, and died with the author."

"In these times," wrote Richard Baxter, "sprang



From an old print kindly lent by J. Avery, Esq., Forest Gate.

up five sects at least, whose doctrines were almost the same, but they fell into several shapes and names: 1. The Vanists, 2. The Seekers, 3. The Ranters, 4. The Quakers, 5. The Behmenists." His account of these sects is, however, singularly confused and in many respects incorrect. Sir Harry Vane was no doubt much of a mystic, but his adherents could not be properly described as a sect. The writings of Jacob Bœhme, the German mystic, were comparatively little known in England. The Seekers set aside the Scriptures and outward ordinances and waited for further revelations. The Ranters, says Baxter, "made it their business to set up the light of nature, under the name of *Christ in men*." They were a sort of Pantheists, regarding themselves as so completely one with God and Christ as to be without sin, whatever their actions might be, and often indulged in wild excesses. The Quakers, according to Baxter, "were but the Ranters turned from horrid prophaneness and blasphemy to a life of extreme austerity," and "James Nayler was their chief leader." How far this representation of them is correct we shall presently see. My principal purpose is to furnish an "exact history" of Nayler, whose name finds a place in the general history of this period on account of his extravagant conduct, his State trial, and his severe punishment under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

1. Of the *early life* of James Nayler little is known. He was born in 1616, and, according to his own statement, at Ardsley near Wakefield. There are two Ardsleys, East and West; and his birthplace was probably West Ardsley, which is commonly called Woodchurch or Woodkirk. He was the son of a substantial yeoman, received a good English education, married at the age of

22, and settled in the neighbouring parish of Wakefield, where several children were born to him. At the commencement of the Civil War he entered the Parliamentary army, served nearly seven years in a foot company under Fairfax, and two years as quartermaster in Lambert's horse. While in the army he became an Independent, imbued with religious fervour and zealous for liberty of conscience. He also often preached with great impressiveness to a crowd of people who gathered around him in the open fields. During Cromwell's campaign in Scotland (1650) one of the officers, who heard him, declared "I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies without being able to help ourselves. The people there in the clear and powerful opening of their states cried out against themselves imploring mercy." (*Diary of Alexander Jaffray*).

On returning from Scotland the same year, disabled by sickness, he found an Independent society or "gathered church" at Woodchurch under the pastorate of Christopher Marshall, the incumbent. Of this church Captain John Pickering of Tingley and others who had fought in the Parliamentary army were members, and Nayler joined its fellowship. Christopher Marshall was a Lincolnshire man, emigrated to Boston, New England, became a member of the Congregational church of which the notable John Cotton was teacher, and having been trained by him for the ministry returned to England and was appointed to this living. He is mentioned in the Parliamentary Survey (1650) as minister at Woodchurch with a stipend of "£30 a year, allowed by Lord Savile."

(Sir Thomas Savile, first Earl of Sussex), impropriator of the rectory.*

Of Nayler's connection with the church at Woodchurch there can be no doubt. Oliver Heywood says, "James Naylour and other three Quakers turned off from them and were turned out of their communion." (*Diary ii.* 244). This testimony is confirmed by a list of church members (see *Transactions*, No. 1., p. 18) in which it is recorded that "Brother Elyard, Bro. Legine, Bro. Carter, James Nailor [not called Brother], Sister Oxley, Sister Hannah Cassley, Sister Easther Cassley departed from us and some under church censures." And Nayler himself, when subsequently asked whether he had not been a member of an Independent church at Sowerby, and excommunicated for his blasphemous opinions, replied that he had been a member of a church at Woodchurch, and knew not what they had done since he came forth, but that he was not before to his knowledge.† It is commonly said that he was expelled from the church for blasphemy and "wanton carriage" with a Mrs. Roper; but the truth is that he first left the church of his own accord on becoming a Quaker, and was afterwards "excommunicated;" meanwhile suspicions of his immorality were expressed, but nothing is heard of them until several years later (1656), and then on no other authority than a copy of a letter said to have been written by Mr. Marshall to a friend; and Nayler indignantly repudiated

* He may have been previously minister of Horbury, a chapelry of Wakefield parish. He is referred to as such in the Parish Register; some of the members of the society at Woodchurch resided there; and he had intimate relations with the place at a later date. The Report of the Committee of Parliament (1656) stated that Nayler was "a member of an Independent church at Horbery in Yorkshire, of which church Mr. Christopher Marshall was pastor." (*State Trials*, v. 803).

† *A Collection of Sundry Books, Epistles and Papers*, written by James Nayler, 1716, p. 14. *Exact History of James Nayler*, by John Deacon; *from my lodging at Bunhill, London, Dec. 30th, 1656. A True Narrative of the Examination, trial and sufferings of James Nayler, &c., 1657.* For other Nayler literature see *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, by Joseph Smith, 1867.

the charge as a "priest-lie."† Similar charges were subsequently brought against him by his enemies, but they had not adequate foundation.

It should be here noticed that Christopher Marshall was a *moderate* Independent or Congregationalist of the New England type. He was not opposed to a National Church, such as existed under Cromwell, or to the control of the civil magistrate in religious matters, and was content to hold a parish living and preach in a parish church, whilst he had liberty to act as pastor of a society formed on Independent principles in connection with the parish assembly but not confined to it. On the other hand there were many *extreme* Independents, especially in the army, who, like the old Brownists and most of the Baptists, were opposed to the interference of the magistrate, no less than that of bishop or presbytery, and to all forced payments for religion, and who advocated an unlimited toleration; and these sometimes formed themselves into religious societies entirely outside the parish assemblies.

2. The *conversion* of James Nayler to Quaker views took place under the influence of George Fox during his first visit to Yorkshire in 1651. Of this remarkable man something must be said. He was born at Drayton, Leicestershire, in 1624, so that he was eight years younger than Nayler. As a young man he was noted for his Puritan seriousness, and was driven well-nigh to despair by spiritual perplexity and trouble, from which he could get no relief by his consultation with parish

† It is stated, without any authority being given (*Miall's Congregationalism in Yorkshire*), that "he was b ought before the church on a charge of adultery; the meeting was held at Haigh Hall, in a room called the Lord's parlour; Naylor went afterwards to London and joined the Baptist church of which Hanserd Knollys was minister, whence he was again expelled." The meeting that cen-ured him may have been held at Haigh Hall, which belonged to Lord Savile, was occupied by one or more members of the church, and made use of for the convenience of the members who came from a distance; but it is altogether improbable that he joined a Baptist church.

ministers or others. While the army was fighting for liberty he "walked abroad in solitary places, or took his Bible and sat in hollow trees till the night came on." (*Journal*). At length he found guidance and assurance, and in 1647 began to testify openly of the Word, Christ, the Spirit, in all men. This *Inner Light*, he taught, is superior to the letter of the Scriptures, independent of ministers, churches and outward forms, opposed to all worldliness and wickedness, and makes those who follow it perfect. The thoroughness with which he held this doctrine and his practical applications of it made his teaching peculiar and revolutionary. His aim was the revival of primitive Christianity. No oaths were to be taken. Yea or Nay was sufficient. The hat was to be taken off to no one, and no courtesy titles given. Every person was to be addressed in the singular as *Thou* or *Thee*. War and physical violence were wrong, injuries to be borne with patience, and active benevolence practised. Fox went from place to place denouncing in unmeasured terms a "hireling ministry," "steeple houses" or "idol temples," formal worship, tithes, unfaithful magistrates and popular vices. His preaching produced extraordinary effects; and notwithstanding the opposition and persecution with which he met he went on his way undismayed. Justice Bennet, of Derby, he says, "was the first that called us Quakers [Tremblers], because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650."* In his *Journal* (1651) we read:

> So travelling through several places I came into the parts about Wakefield where JAMES NAYLER lived; he and Thomas Goodyear came to me and were both convinced and received the truth. William Dewsbury also and his wife and many more.

* Robert Barclay, in his *Apology for the Quakers* (1675) attributed the origin of the name to the violent physical agitations which were not infrequent in these early meetings, and which arose, as he considered, from an inward struggle between light and darkness.

After travelling in the East and North Ridings, where he gained many converts, Fox returned to the West Riding, and at "a great meeting of many considerable men" James Nayler, Thomas Goodyear, and William Dewsbury, "who had been convinced the year before," were present (1652).

> From hence I went to Wakefield, and on the First-day after, I went to the steeple-house, where James Nayler had been a member of an Independent church; but upon his receiving truth he was excommunicated. When I came in and the priest had done, the people called upon me to come up to the priest, which I did; but when I began to declare the Word of life to them and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me suddenly, thrust me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried "Let us have him to the stocks." But the Lord's power restrained them that they were not suffered to put me in.
>
> The priest of that church, whose name was Marshall, raised many wicked slanders about me . . . The Lord soon after cut off this envious priest in his wickedness.

Good George was too credulous of the reports that reached him, his judgments did not always proceed from the pure light, and he was strangely misinformed concerning the fate of Christopher Marshall; for Marshall lived over twenty years subsequently, was one of the ejected nonconformist ministers in 1662, and after long and faithful service died in peace, February, 1673, aged 59.

Shortly afterwards Fox went into Craven, was "moved of the Lord" to go up to the top of Pendle Hill, where he had a vision of the places in which there was "a great people to be gathered;" travelled through the Yorkshire dales and arrived at Swarthmoor Hall in Furness, beyond Morecambe, the residence of Judge Fell (whose widow Fox subsequently married); and here a little later he was joined by James Nayler, who, "having heard the voice of the same living God that spoke to Abraham," had now left his occupation and his

family and come forth as an itinerant preacher of the doctrine of the *Inner Light.*

3. Nayler's own account of his *call to the itinerant ministry* (1652) is as follows:

> I was in the fields at the plough in barley seedtime meditating on the things of God, and suddenly I heard a voice saying unto me, "Get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father's house," and I had a promise given in with it; whereupon I did exceedingly rejoice that I had heard the voice of that God which I had professed from a child, but whom before that day I had never known. [He afterwards said to John Deacon that "it was not a carnal, audible voice, to be heard of the earthly ear, for it was a Heavenly."]
>
> So I went home and stayed there a good while; and not being obedient to the Heavenly call I was in a sad condition, as my friends knew, and those that knew me wondered at me, and thought I was distracted, and that I would never have spoken nor eaten any more.
>
> But after I was made willing to go I gave my estate away [to his wife and children], and I began to make some provision, as money, apparel, and other necessaries for my journey; but awhile afterwards going with a friend from my house on some business, having an old suit of clothes on without any money, a voice spake again commanding me to go into West [Westmorland], and then it was revealed to me what was appointed for me to do. And not knowing whether I should go or what was appointed for me to do, neither having taken leave of her whom the world calls my wife, and those children which according to the flesh are mine, I was obedient, and after I had been there awhile it was given me what I should declare; and ever since I have been obedient to that which is pure in me and in you all, Christ manifest in mortal flesh.

He was one of the first of a zealous band of travelling preachers, who gathered around George Fox and numbered in 1654 about sixty persons. They went forth, more or less under Fox's direction, usually in pairs, on a propagandist or evangelistic mission. "The Quakers, it was said, would not come into any great towns, but lived in the Fells like butterflies." (*Life of Ambrose Barnes*).

We find Nayler disputing with parish ministers in Westmorland, writing pamphlets jointly with Fox, and accompanying him in his preaching tours. They were together at Lancaster, and Nayler wrote *A Letter to some Friends in Yorkshire giving a brief account of the proceedings at Lancaster Sessions against him and G. Fox*, from "Kellet the 30th. day of the 8th month, (October), 1652." On one occasion they went to Walney Island, opposite Furness, where they were attacked by "about 40 men with staves, clubs, and fishing poles;" Fox was knocked down and stunned, and Nayler nearly killed. They were treated very much like Wesley and the early Methodist preachers a century later. Towards the end of the year Nayler was at the instigation of the parish ministers committed for trial at the sessions at Appleby, (Jan., 1652-3), and indicted for "saying that *Christ was in him* and that there was but one Word of God." Justice Benson declared that the words spoken by him were neither within the Act against blasphemy, nor against any law; but it was ordered that he should remain in prison until certain petitions against him and others were answered; and after 20 weeks' confinement he was discharged, and "continued in the service of the Truth in the north." While in prison he wrote a *Letter* to Friends about Wakefield, and a little treatise entitled *A Discovery of Wisdom from Beneath and the Wisdom from Above.* He also afterwards wrote *A Letter to Friends in Holderness* (from Nuby, Sept. 30, 1653); *A Lamentation* (*by one of England's Prophets*) *over the Ruins of this Oppressed Nation* (Nov. 9), and about 20 other tracts and treatises. One of his epistles, *To all Friends in London*, is dated from "Wakefield, the ninth day of the 4th month," (June, 1654 ?); soon after which he found his way to the metropolis.

Already two of the ablest of the northern band of evangelists, Edward Borrough and Francis Howgill, had gone to London in furtherance of their mission. Fox himself, also, had been arrested in Leicestershire by Col. Hacker, and sent under the care of one of his life-guards to the Lord Protector at Whitehall (1654). After his interview with Cromwell Fox says, "he caught me by the hand and with tears in his eyes said, 'come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour a day together, we should be nearer one another,' adding that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul." There was "a great convincement in London." Nayler's coming strengthened the hands of his fellow labourers. The meetings were crowded. One of them was held at the Bull and Mouth, Aldersgate; and such was Nayler's popularity that many from the Court, various titled ladies, and officers of the army, came to hear him. Among his occasional hearers was Sir Harry Vane, who had considerable sympathy with many of his views. Nayler also visited various parts of the country. In company with Thomas Goodyear he preached several times at Kidderminster, and there came into contact with the renowned controversialist, Richard Baxter, who wrote, in consequence, *The Quaker's Cat chism*, (April 20th, 1655), to which Nayler published a reply. Among numerous other tracts written by him this year was one entitled *Satan's Design Discovered; who under pretence of worshipping Christ's Person in Heaven would exclude God and Christ, the Spirit and Light out of the world, &c., in answer to Thomas Moor.* He met Fox in Derbyshire, and was encouraged by him to encounter "seven or eight priests who had challenged him to a dispute; in which he proved so successful that the people seeing the priests

foiled cried out "a Nailer, a Nailer hath confuted them all." He frequently disputed at the meetings in London with various gainsayers, such as Jeremiah Ives in Beech Lane (May 1656), and at the Bull and Mouth (June 22, 1656). He was often spoken of as "the Quaker's Great Apostle." "Freeborn John" (Lilburn) called him "that *tall man* in Christ." About this time he also wrote one of his best treatises, entitled *Love to the Lost.* It is not surprising that he should have been called by Baxter the "chief leader" of the Quakers.

In his personal appearance Nayler is said to have borne a striking resemblance to the traditional portraits of Jesus Christ, and to the description (once popularly supposed to be genuine) given by Publius Lentulus to the Senate of Rome. He was of medium stature, his face of oval shape, with ruddy complexion and broad forehead, his hair auburn, parted on the brow and hanging a little below his cheeks, his nose slightly aquiline, his beard short, his eyes beaming with a benignant lustre, his aspect grave, with "a sad, down-looking and melancholy countenance." He usually wore a little band close to his collar, with no band strings; his hat hanging over his brows. His voice was musical and he possessed a natural gift of oratory. Thomas Ellwood, who met with him at Isaac Pennington's, Chalfont, Buckinghamshire, and heard him discussing with his father on predestination, says "he handled the subject with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration that his reasoning seemed to be irresistible;" and this surprised him the more as "the appearance of Nayler was that of a plain simple husbandman or shepherd." (*Life of Ellwood*). His writings display an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, and are often well-reasoned, but they are for the most part hortatory, and on account of their peculiar

phraseology and repetition somewhat wearisome to read. A recent writer has remarked that "for depth of thought and beauty of expression Nayler deserves the first place in Quaker literature." (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

4. His *aberrations* appear to have commenced in London some time in the year 1656. "I entered this great city," he afterwards wrote, "with the greatest fear than ever into any place I came, in spirit foreseeing somewhat to befall me therein, but not knowing what it might be." According to an early historian of the Quakers:

> He preached in such an eminent manner that many admiring his great gift, began to esteem him much above his brethren, which, as it brought him no benefit, so it gave occasion to some difference in the Society; and this ran so high that some forward and inconsiderate women, of whom Martha Simmons [wife of Thomas Simmons, a bookbinder] was the chief, assumed the boldness to dispute with F. Howgill and E. Burrough openly on their preaching and thus to disturb the meetings; whereupon they who were truly excellent preachers, did not fail, according to their duty, to reprove this indiscretion. But these women were so disgusted that Martha and another woman went and complained to Nayler; but this did not succeed. . . . Hereupon Martha fell into a passion, in a kind of moaning or weeping, and bitterly crying out with a mournful, shrill voice, "I looked for judgment and behold a cry" . . . which entered and pierced J. Nayler, so that it smote him down unto so much sorrow and sadness that he was much dejected in spirit or disconsolate. Fear and doubt then entered him, so that he came to be clouded in his understanding, bewildered, and at a loss in his judgment, and became estranged from his best friends, because they did not approve his conduct, insomuch that he began to give ear to the flattering praises of some whimsical people, which he ought to have abhorred and reproved them for. (William Sewel, 1725).

This account is taken from *An Impartial Relation*, written by George Whitehead (1716), who says that he had it from Nayler's own lips "as we were walking together in the field at Great Strickland

in Westmorland, 1657" [1659]. Another writer, of the Society of Friends, remarks, "Having lost his spirit of discernment he was in a situation to accept almost anything as truth, more especially that which was gratifying." (Joseph Gurney Bevan, *A Life of James Nayler*, 1800). A more recent author says that "it was doubtless the excitement of the work and his popularity as a preacher in London which turned the poor man's head and resulted in temporary insanity;" and that his *long fasting* is "either sufficient to shew that he was insane at that time, or to account on the strength of physical causes alone for a temporary aberration of intellect." (Robert Barclay, *The Inner Life*, pages 349, 427). He is commonly spoken of as "The Mad Quaker." But was he really mad? Neither Fox nor Whitehead suggested any suspicion of his insanity. He himself subsequently described his condition as one of temptation and darkness, which came over him "through want of watchfulness and obedience to the Pure Eye of God and diligent minding of the Reproof of Life," and says, "Having in a great measure lost my own Guide, and Darkness being come upon me, I gave up myself wholly to be led by others. And in the time of my darkness and night of temptation (which darkness I had let up over my head and my judgment being lost) there got up many wild Spirits, *Ranters* and such like, acting many evil things against the Life and Truth and Name of Christ." (*To the Life of God in All*, 1659).

It is only by a large extension of the definition of "madness" that it can be attributed to him. The doctrine of immediate revelation is beset by the danger of mistaking natural impressions and impulses for the divine voice, and the temptation to presumption and fanaticism. And into this danger and temptation Nayler fell.

The level-headed and honest-hearted Fox discerned about this time that there was something wrong with him, and tells us, on leaving London for the West of England in the summer of 1656: "As I passed from him I cast my eyes upon him and a fear struck me concerning him." It was when Nayler was on his way to visit Fox in Launceston gaol that his spiritual aberrations became more marked. He was arrested at Exeter under the old Acts against vagrancy by Major Saunders, and placed in gaol, where he was visited by Martha Simmons, of whom we have heard before, and several others, men and women. One of them named Dorcas Erbury (widow of a minister in Wales, who had become a Seeker) knelt before him and kissed his feet; she also fell into a swoon, and Nayler cried over her "Tabitha, I say unto thee, Arise;" she revived and believed that he had raised her from the dead, as she testified before the Committee of Parliament. A letter was also found on him written by John Stranger, a comb maker, of London, containing the words, "Thy name shall be no longer James Nayler, but Jesus." About the same time similar letters were written to him; one by Hannah Stranger (the wife of the former) calling him "the fairest of ten thousand," "the only begotten Son of God," "the everlasting Sun of Righteousness;" another by Thomas Simmons calling him "the King of Israel," and so on. It is said that he usually sat in a chair, whilst women knelt before him, bowing and singing "Holy, Holy, Holy."

When released at Launceston Fox visited Nayler at Exeter, but "I saw," he says, "he was out and wrong; and so was his company. He slighted what I said, and was dark and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said since he had turned against the power of God I could

not receive his show of kindness. There was now a *wicked spirit* risen up among the Friends to war against." This is the last mention of Nayler in Fox's Journal.

Having been discharged from Exeter gaol by an order of Council (Oct. 2) he set out in company with six or seven men and women. They formed a little procession in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem; passed through Glastonbury, Wells, and Chew Stoke, and at length came to Bristol. Nayler rode on a horse, led by a young man bareheaded, preceded by another young man, and followed by two men on horseback each with a woman riding behind him, whilst one or two women walked beside his stirrups; and as they moved forward, drenched with rain and wading through muddy roads "up to the knees," the women cast their scarfs and handkerchiefs in the way and cried "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Israel," or sang "with a buzzing, melodious noise," which the surrounding crowd could not understand. Nayler's admirers were infatuated enough to believe that he was really Christ, or a new incarnation of Christ, and deemed themselves "moved of the Lord" to pay him divine honour. And Nayler "suffered them," as George Whitehead says, "so to follow and expose him to make a fool and gazing-stock of him without reprehending them, which gave his adversaries and persecutors the chief advantage against him." (*Impartial Relation*). He was the chief actor in a public scene or "miracle play" which was abhorrent to sober Christians, tended to mislead the people, and to create a disturbance of the peace. He justified the honour given to him, indeed, as given not to himself as a creature, but to *Christ in him*, and long obstinately refused to condemn his companions or acknowledge his own fault; but he can

hardly be considered "insane," or undeserving of serious blame. He took the matter very seriously; and as others had in former days suffered death for personating Christ, so he was prepared for a similar fate. "There was never anything since I was born," he declared at the Bar of the House of Commons, "so much against my will and mind as this thing, to be set up as a sign on my going into these towns; for I knew that I should lay down my life for it." The Justices could not be expected to do other than take the matter also very seriously. They had been much troubled by the conduct of Ranters and Quakers (whom they did not clearly distinguish), were horified at what was reported to them, and sent for Nayler and his company; who on arriving at the High Cross were arrested, and went to the Court singing as before. In ordinary cases of public disturbance it would have been deemed sufficient to confine them in gaol for a while, but on examination their words and actions appeared so extravagant that the Justices thought proper to give information thereof to the Parliament, and they were ordered to send the offenders to London.

5. The Parliament before which Nayler was *tried* was the second Protectorate Parliament, which met September 16, 1656. It consisted nominally of 400 members, but only about 300 ever took their seats; and there was no Upper House. A Committee of 55 was appointed (October 31) "to consider the information touching the great misdemeanours and blasphemies of James Nayler and others at Bristol and elsewhere, and to examine the truth thereof; and to report the matter of fact, together with their opinion therein." Nayler and his companions were accordingly examined before the Committee on three successive days, with the result that the facts above stated were proved beyond dispute. Nayler

said finally, "I do abhor that any of that honour which is due to God should be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the Righteous One, and what hath been done in my passing through the towns, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer such things to be done to the outward as a sign." But the Committee was not disposed to heed this explanation, or the motives by which he said he was actuated. They had the facts before them. His own bearing was not adapted to conciliate their respect. They took the matter as seriously as himself; and they deemed it needful to make an example of him, to prevent similar extravagances. They agreed to report: "That he assumed the gesture, words, honour, worship, and miracles of our blessed Saviour; and His names, incommunicable attributes and titles."*

This Report was presented before the Parliament by Mr. Bamfield, M.P. for Exeter, on Friday, December 5, and the debate which ensued thereon occupied so much of its time and attention that it has been not inappropriately called by Carlyle "the James Nayler's Parliament." It was the first and only occasion on which a Protectorate Parliament interfered with the Quakers or those whom they deemed such; and it was not long before most of its members found out their mistake therein. On hearing the Report the members sat in silent horror. Then old Major-General Skippon rose to his feet, and gave his counsel. "It is come to your doors," said he, "this outrageous conduct of Ranters, Quakers, and others. I have often been troubled in my thoughts about the issue of Liberty of Conscience [given by the Instrument of Government, Dec. 16, 1653]. Their great growth and

* *State Trials*, vol. v.; Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, vol. i; Carlyle's *Cromwell*.

increase is too notorious. Their principles strike at the ministry and magistracy. Shall we not vindicate the honour of God? Shall we suffer our Lord Jesus thus to be abused and trampled upon? I am of opinion that it is *horrid blasphemy*, and ought to be punished as such." Other members followed in the same strain. They could not find words strong enough to express their detestation of Nayler and his company. Almost the first word of moderation and compassion came from Major-General Lambert, member for Yorkshire.

> It is matter of sadness to many men's hearts, and sadness also to mine, especially in regard to his relation to me. He was two years my quartermaster, and a very useful person. We parted with him with great regret. He was a man of a very unblameable life and conversation, a member of a very sweet society of an Independent church. How he comes (by pride or otherwise) to be puffed up to this opinion I cannot determine. But this may be a warning to us all, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling.

The debate went on till almost four in the afternoon; and early next morning (Saturday) it was resumed. How shall we proceed against him? By what law? "However others look upon Nayler," said Capt. Baynes, member for Leeds, "I look upon him as a man, an Englishman. I would have him so tried as to bring in a bill of attainder against him, or leave him to the law. Let him be called to the Bar." On being brought accordingly Nayler refused to kneel, or put off his hat. The House did not insist upon his kneeling, but commanded the serjeant to take his hat off. He was questioned, and answered to the same effect as he had done before the Committee. "I am of opinion with Nayler in one thing," said Major-Gen. Goffe, "that he is set up as a sign. He has fulfilled a Scripture that false Christs should arise; Lo! here, lo! there is Christ, but do not believe them." And it was resolved: To agree with the Committee in the Report, and to adjourn the debate till Monday.

On the resumption of the debate (Monday morning, Dec. 8) one member said, "Seeing Nayler *must die*, I desire what manner of death it must be;" but Sir Wm. Strickland, a Yorkshire member, replied, "Do not go to the punishment, but go to the matter of fact." What is his offence? Is it blasphemy? "If we judge by Christian rule," suggested one, "the other persons are more guilty of blasphemy in that sense than he." "My motion," said another, "is to vote this offence horrid blasphemy;" and another, "He is under a sad delusion of the devil, but to say he is a blasphemer I cannot agree." "I wonder," said Lord President Lawrence, "why any one should be so amazed at his saying that *Christ is in him.* Is not God in every horse, in every stone, in every creature? Your Familists* affirm that they are Christed in Christ, and Godded in God. If you hang every man that says *Christ is in you the hope of glory* you will hang a good many. I do not believe that James Nayler thinks himself to be the only Christ; but that Christ is in him in the highest measure. This I confess is sad. But if from hence you go about to adjudge it or call it blasphemy, I am not satisfied." The debate was adjourned till three o'clock, and it was resolved that candles should be called for in order to its continuance. "What sticks most with me," said Col. Sydenham, one of His Highness' Council, "is the nearness of this opinion to that which is a glorious truth, that the Spirit is personally in us." "Consider," cried Col. Holland, member for Lancashire, "the state of this nation, what the price of our blood is. Liberty of conscience, the Instrument gives it us. We remember how many Christians were formerly martyred under the

* Or "Family of Love," founded by Henry Nicholas, of Munster, 1502–1570 (Barclay, *Inner Life*, &c.).

notion of blasphemy ; and who can define what it is ? I am wholly against the question." Nevertheless it was ultimately resolved : "That James Nayler upon the whole matter, in fact, is guilty of horrid blasphemy ; and is a grand impostor and a great seducer of the people."

On the following morning (Tuesday, Dec. 9) commenced the debate on the punishment that should be inflicted upon him, and it continued from day to day for more than a week. Some fifty members spoke, but it is impossible to follow them in their "divinity lectures," aimless digressions and diverse opinions ; for they were (as one of themselves observed) "like the Tartars, who fight flying and come to no fixed point whereon to ground a debate." "It is against the Instrument of Government," said Lord Strickland, "to proceed to further punishment upon this business." "Nayler prophesied of his death," said Capt. Baynes, "let us make him a liar by saving his life." "It is the strain of the Gospel all along," said Major-Gen. Packer, "to use meekness and moderation. It matters not what people say, so we do our duty ; give every man a free exercise of his conscience. The Spanish Inquisition may rise up in judgment against us. Tares may turn to wheat, he may be converted ; let us not cast him into hell." "If you have a law," said Col. Hewitson, "I desire you will put it in execution. If you have no law the Scripture tells you there is no transgression." "God has made a law against blasphemy," exclaimed Major-Gen. Whalley, "and what are we poor worms going about to repeal that law ?" "If," said Mr. Ashe, "you adhere to your former vote that he is a horrid blasphemer you cannot go to less than the punishment by death. It is death by the common law ; and although there was no statute against it till

2 Henry IV. *(De heretico comburendo)* the law is the same." "I should be sorry," said Secretary Thurloe, "to see those old laws against heretics put in execution now. I know no law in force at this day against blasphemy; unless it be that of the old Parliament." [Ordinances in 1648 and 1650]. "Make a speedy law, then, against blasphemers," said Mr. Bamfield, "and you may soon overtake him by it; and in the meantime keep him close prisoner." At length, on Tuesday, Dec. 16, it was decided that Nayler should not be put to death, by a majority of 96 to 82.

What shall be done to him? Let his tongue be bored through. "You had better take his life," said the Lord President, "that tongue may afterwards praise the Lord." Cut off his long hair. Brand him. Whip him. Let him be pilloried. Let his Bridewell be at York, whence he came. "Yes," said Mr. Highland, member for Southwark, "those that come out of the North are the greatest pests of the nation." "I hope," said Mr. Robinson of York, "that gentleman does not mean us." "We are all weary of him," said Mr. Bamfield, who brought up the Committee's Report, "he came from the North. It verifies the proverb *ab aquilone nil boni.* I hope it will be a warning to them never more to send such cattle among us." It was at last resolved: That he be (1) set in the pillory at the New Palace, Westminster, for two hours on Thursday next, and thence whipped over every kennel as far as the Old Exchange; (2) pilloried at the Old Exchange on Saturday next, his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and stigmatised on the forehead with the letter B; (3) afterwards sent to Bristol and conveyed through the city on a horse bareridged, with his face back, and publicly whipped; and finally (4) committed to

prison in Bridewell, London, and kept to hard labour till released by Parliament.

This sentence was horribly cruel and altogether disproportionate to the offence. But it must be remembered in mitigation of our severe condemnation of the Parliament by which it was passed, that they had not the advantage of viewing the whole matter in the same light as ourselves; that they reflected the prevalent dislike of sober Puritanism to wild excesses and an improper use of liberty; that they had mistaken notions of the application of the law of the Jewish theocracy to modern government, and of the proper relation of the civil magistrate to religious opinion and practice; that the milder methods of punishing offenders of all kinds with which we are familiar were almost unknown in those days; that many members of the Parliament were opposed to the sentence, and pleaded for the simple confinement of the offender and even his release; and, finally, that although many persons, like Cromwell, were in favour of the utmost religious liberty consistent with the stability of the government and the peace of the country, the nation as a whole was not yet ripe for the complete toleration that afterwards became possible and has since proved so beneficial.

The next morning at 10 o'clock (Wednesday, Dec. 17) Nayler was called to the Bar, and addressed by the Speaker of the House, Sir Thomas Widdrington, as follows: "Now ten or eleven days have been spent in debating your crimes, which are heinous. You have troubled the counties up and down, and now you have troubled the Parliament. Yet in your sentence mercy is mixed with judgment. It is a sentence, not of death. They desire your reformation rather than your destruction." Nayler said he did not know his offence; but the Speaker

replied that he should know his offence by his punishment; and forthwith proceeded to pronounce the sentence ; on hearing which Nayler further said, "He that hath prepared the body will enable me to suffer ; I pray that He may not lay these things to your charge."

Certain petitions of ministers, magistrates and others in several counties were presented, complaining of the growth of the Quakers, and praying that more stringent measures might be taken against them, and after some debate they were referred to Nayler's Committee. To the same Committee, also, it was referred to propound the punishment of the "three women and the man" who had partaken in Nayler's offence, but these appear to have been soon afterwards discharged.

6. Of the manner in which the *punishment* of Nayler was inflicted and endured some account must be given. On Thursday, Dec. 18, he was set in the pillory at Westminster, surrounded by a multitude of people, among whom Richard Rich, a London merchant and well-known Ranter, went singing and shouting, until his brother, a Councillor, caused him to be taken away. Nayler was then tied to a cart and whipped along the streets, receiving on his bare back 310 stripes. "The hangman told the Sheriff that he was to have had one stripe more, for there were 311 kennels, but his foot slipping, it fell on his own hand and cut him much." There are contradictory accounts of the physical effects of his punishment; but his sufferings must have been severe, and they were endured with extraordinary fortitude and patience.

The second part of his sentence was to have been carried out on the following Saturday (Dec. 20) ; but on the morning of that day a petition

was presented to Parliament praying for a suspension thereof on account of his exhausted condition, and it was resolved to suspend it for a week. It was also resolved to send five divines : Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, Dr. Reynolds (afterwards Bishop of Norwich), and Mr. Griffith, to confer with him and endeavour to bring him to the acknowledgment of his offence. On Tuesday a petition of "divers peaceable and well affected persons in and about the City of London" was presented at the Bar of the House stating that "their moderation and clemency in respiting his punishment had refreshed the hearts of many thousands," and praying them to "remit the remaining part of his sentence, and leave him to Gospel remedies as the proper way to reclaim." A debate followed thereon, but the House being weary of the business the Speaker rose without question. The visit of the five divines to Nayler in Newgate on Wednesday (Dec. 24) was fruitless. Petitions were then addressed to the Protector, and on Friday, 26th, came a Letter from his Highness stating :

> Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler . . . . We, being entrusted with the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations, and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it, Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded. Given at Whitehall the 25th of December, 1656.

He doubtless disapproved of the course taken with Nayler. He was jealous of any infringement of the Liberty of Conscience assured by the Instrument of Government. And since the Parliament, as a Supreme Court of Judicature, had acted without him, which some "gentlemen of the long robe" thought unjustifiable, he felt bound to

seek an explanation of their procedure. "If you have done what you cannot justify," said Mr. Rouse, one of his Highness' Council, "you must be whipped for whipping James Nayler." "We assert our power," said the Lord Chief Justice, "and he asserts his; no doubt but in a fair way by a meeting this may be understood." "This," said Mr. Robinson, "is the most unfortunate business that ever came into this House. I was against it at first." "If," said Mr. Goodwin, "you be a Parliament you have judicatory power to pass this sentence. You ought to assert it, and not to admit any debate against it." "We should return this short answer," said another member, "We had power to do so. I doubt not you will satisfy my Lord Protector with it." So the debate went on the whole day. The next morning it was decided, by 113 to 59, that Nayler should not be further respited. But the business of his Highness' letter was not ended. Once and again the debate upon it was resumed until January 2nd; when we read "the business of the day was jostled out, and nobody said a word of it. I hear it will never be mentioned again; if it be I dread the consequence." We know not what answer was given to the letter, or whether Cromwell was satisfied therewith. But he did not consider it expedient to make the judgment an occasion of serious conflict with the Parliament; and it was now too late, even if he felt disposed, to save Nayler from his punishment.

On Saturday, Dec. 27, he was conveyed from Newgate to the pillory near the Old Exchange, and stood therein for two hours. The three women who had caused all the trouble, Martha Simmons, Hannah Stranger, and Dorcas Erbury, came up to the platform and sat down beside him; and Rich, the Ranter, stepped up and placed over his head a paper with the inscription "This is the King of the

Jews." On being set free Nayler was bound with his back to the pillory, and the executioner asked him to put forth his tongue, which he did very willingly; then having hoodwinked his face and taken hold of his tongue, he took a red-hot iron about the size of a quill and bored a hole quite through the same; finally placing his left hand on his head and taking the red-hot iron letter B in his other hand he put it to his forehead, which gave a little flash. "He shrinked a little when the iron came upon his forehead," says the Diarist; "he was pale when he came out of the pillory, but high coloured after tongue boring. Being unbound he embraced the executioner and behaved handsomely and patiently. Rich, the mad merchant, sat bare at Nayler's feet all the time. Sometimes he sang and cried, kissed his hand, and sucked the fire out of his forehead," and led him by the hand from the pillory. "I am," said he, "*the dog that licked Lazarus his sores.*" Many thousands of people stood bareheaded and quiet, exhibiting no signs of antipathy towards the offender, who was taken back to Newgate.

But the sentence was not yet entirely fulfilled. Three weeks later (Jan. 16, 1656-7) he was conveyed to Bristol, made to ride through the city on a horse bareridged with his face backward; and then alighting he was whipped through the streets. The whipping this time, however, was little more than formal; for someone was suffered to hold back the executioner's hand so that his strokes fell lightly. While he passed along his old friend Rich rode bareheaded before him singing "Holy, Holy;" and no one interfered with him. After this Nayler was brought back to London and placed in Old Bridewell "to remain in custody without being visited or relieved of any; neither to have the use of pen, ink or paper, nor to be allowed anything

but what he gets by his own labour." At first he was silent and sullen, and would eat no food, or do anything to obtain it, but afterwards submitted patiently to his fate. Among the petitions presented on his behalf was one from his wife Ann (Feb. 24), who begged that he might have fire and candlelight, and that she might attend him with necessaries out of his own estate, but rather that he might be released (Barclay, *Inner Life*, p. 427); and the first part of her request was granted. On May 26, Sir Gilbert Pickering, one of his Highness' Council, said, "I move on behalf of that reckless person Nayler. If you care not for him so as to have a keeper he will die in your hands. His Highness has recommended it to us to move you in it." It was ordered that the governors of Bridewell should assign him a keeper, and permit a minister or ministers to attend him. This is the last order concerning him recorded as passed by the second Protectorate Parliament; which was dissolved by the Protector a few months after (Feb. 4, 1657-8). Cromwell himself did not long survive. In August, 1658, he sent a person to see Nayler; who, although told of the fact and pressed to say anything which he wished Cromwell acquainted with, remained perfectly silent and took no notice. A slight expression of his sorrow would probably have procured his immediate discharge. Early in the following month (Sept. 3) Cromwell was no more. Twelve months later, when the remnant of the Long Parliament had come back, Nayler was set at liberty, Sept. 8, 1659.

7. His *restoration* to a better frame of mind took place while he was in Bridewell. "The one bright spot of the whole dreary business is the fact that in the long hours of his solitary confinement Nayler recovered his spiritual sanity, and in

deepening contrition of soul retracted the claim to a kind of Messiahship which the extravagance of his followers had led him to set up." (*Dic. of National Biography*). The part of the sentence which required that he should not be allowed writing materials in prison was not strictly enforced, for he wrote there and even published several papers and pamphlets. In one of these he declared, "My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God's Truth and People." In another, "To ascribe His Name, Power and Virtue to James Nayler (or to that which had a beginning and must return to dust), or for that to be exalted or worshipped, to me is great Idolatry." He also wrote, in one of the numerous pamphlets which he subsequently published, "Condemned for ever be all those false worships with which any have idolised my person in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above; all their casting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions which did in any way tend to dishonour the Lord." (1659).

On his release from Bridewell he repaired to George Fox at Reading, and was received back into his confidence. He then proceeded to Bristol, where, in a public meeting of the Friends, he made a full confession of his offence and was restored to their fellowship. He was also restored, under Fox's sanction, to his mission work, and went into various parts of the country, preaching as before. "He and I," says George Whitehead, "for some time lodged together at William Travers his house in Watling Street, London, about *anno* 1659 and 1660; and we had innocent, loving and comfortable conversation together, he being revived in the Lord's Power, and in measure restored to his ancient

testimony, and to bear the same publicly in divers parts of the nation, as the Lord enabled him both in his ministry and writings." He was with Whitehead in Westmorland in 1659 ; and again in London at the Restoration of Charles II., May 29, 1660.

In the autumn of this year he set out from London intending to return to his family at Wakefield. When he passed through Huntingdon he was noticed by one of the Friends as being in a very "exalted" state of mind. Having gone some distance further he appears to have sunk exhausted by the wayside, and was seized by footpads, robbed, and left bound in an adjoining field. He was found there by a rustic and taken to the house of a Friend at Soam, near King's Ripton, where he was visited by Thomas Parnell, a Quaker physician, and finished his earthly course. His remains were interred in the Friends' burial ground at King's Ripton, October 21, 1660.

To those who cared for him he said, "You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls ;" and shortly before his death he is said to have expressed himself in the following language:

> There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong ; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations ; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it ; for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness ; its life is everlasting love unfeigned. It takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it ; nor doth it murmur at

grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone; being forsaken. I have fellowship therein, with those who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal, holy life!

BRYAN DALE.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography

IV

FROM the accession of Charles I. to the meeting of the Long Parliament was the Golden Age of despotism. So effective was the control of the press that it was not only dangerous, but almost impossible, to publish anything offensive to the heads of Church and State. As an illustration it may be mentioned that George Wither, who at this time was anything but a Puritan, was constrained in 1628 to print his poem "Britain's Remembrancer" with his own hands, having vainly striven for more than two years to get it licensed. This poem contains a remarkable prognostication of civil war as the probable outcome of the endeavours of one faction among the clergy to exalt the royal prerogative.

To this period, indeed, belong the original issues of several valuable works of the conforming "Doctrinal Puritans." But these, treating only of speculative and practical divinity, or of devotional topics, to the exclusion of matters ecclesiastical, are outside the purpose of this register. It may suffice to instance Thomas Adams, Robert Bolton, Nic. Byfield, Thomas Gataker, Arthur Hildersham, etc., etc.

It was early observed that the Puritan clergy were far more strongly attached to the high Calvinism defined by the Synod of Dort than were the Courtly party. It therefore seemed expedient, in the interest of the latter, to emphasize the Dordrechtian orthodoxy of the Established Church. To this consideration we probably owe :—

A joynt Attestation avowing that the Discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synode of Dort. 4to., 1626. In the Bodleian.

Suffragium Collegiale Theologorvm Mag. Brit. de quinqve Controversis Remonstrantium Articulis, Synodo Dordrechtanae Exhibitum. A° M.DC.XIX. Judicio Synodico Praevium. 4to., 106pp., 1626. Reprinted 1627, 1633, 1646. All the editions are in the Bodleian, and that of 1627 in the British Museum.

The Collegiat Svffrage of the Divines of Great Britaine, Concerning the Five Articles controverted in the Low Countries, &c. Apparently a translation of the foregoing. 4to., 4-178pp., 1629. Copies in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries, &c.

It may be convenient here to note the most important publications of the period in defence of those ceremonies to which the Puritans objected, and on one or two kindred topics.

GILES WIDDOWES. *The Schysmatical Puritan, &c.* 8vo., 46pp., Oxford, 1630. Reprinted 1631; both editions in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Lawlesse, Kneelesse, Schismaticall Pvritan. Or a Confutation of the Author of an Appendix concerning Bowing at the Name of Jesus. 4to., 2-90pp., Oxford, 1631. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, and York Minster.

W. PAGE. *A Treatise of Justification of Bowing at the Name of Jesus, with an examination of such considerable reasons as are made by Mr. Prinne in a reply to Mr. Widdowes concerning the same Argument.* 4to., Oxford, 1631. In the Bodleian.

J. BURGES, D.D. *An Answer Reioyned To that much applauded Pamphlet of a Nameless Author, bearing this Title: viz. A Reply to Dr. Morton's Generall Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies; the Innocency and Lawfvlnes whereof is againe in this Reioynder vindicated.* 4to., 30-75 654pp., 1631. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

The Lawfvlnes of Kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Lords Svpper, Wherein (by the way) also, Somewhat of the Crosse in Baptisme etc. 4to., 10-120pp., 1631. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

FRAS. WHITE, Bp. of Ely. *A Treatise on the Sabbath Day.* 4to., 1635. In the Congregational Library, &c.

W. QUELCH. *Chvrch Cvstoms Vindicated: in two Sermons, &c.* 4to., 6-56pp., 1636. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

JOHN WILLIAMS, D.D., successively Bp. of Lincoln and Abp. of York. *A Coale from the Altar, or an answer to a Letter not long since written to the Vicar of G. against the placing of the Communion Table at the East end of the Chancel, etc.* 4to., 4-18pp., 1636. Reprinted 1637; both editions in the Bodleian and British Museum; the second in the Congregational Library.

The Holy Table, Name & thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, then that of an Altar, &c. 4to., 4-234pp., 1637. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

P. HEYLYN. *A Briefe and Moderate Answer to the Seditious and Scandalous Challenges of H. Burton.* 4to., 32-196pp., 1637. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Antidotum Lincolniense, or an Answer to a Book entituled The Holy Table, *&c.*, 4to., 32-132-132-79pp., 1637. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

J. POCKLINGTON. *Sunday no Sabbath.* (Against the Puritanic idea as to the due observance of the Lord's Day). 4to., 2-46pp., 2nd. edn. 1636. In the Congregational Library.

Altare Christianum, or the dead Vicar's Plea. 4to., 8-196pp., 1637. Copies in British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

JOS. MEDE, B.D. *The Name Altar, or Θυσιαστήριον, anciently given to the Holy Table.* 4to., 6-40pp., 1637. In the Bodleian. Reprinted with his *Diatribe*, 1642; and in his collected *Works*, 1648. All the editions in the Congregational Library.

C. DOW. *Innovations unjustly charged upon the Present Church and State; or an Answer to the Most Materiall passages of a Libellous Pamphlet made by Mr. H. Burton, &c.* 4to., 12-214pp., 1637. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Examination of the following is desirable; as the title leaves it uncertain whether it is for or against the ceremonies.

The opinion, judgment, and determination of two divines of the Church of England concerning bowing at the Name of Jesus; the one Sometime a member of the University of Cambridge, the other Sometime of Oxford. 8vo., two editions, Hamborough 1632 and 1634; both in the Bodleian.

Mention should next be made of three official publications, which together constitute a Defiance of Puritanism on the part of Charles and Laud :—

(*i.*) *Articles agreed vpon by the Archbs. and Bps. of both Provinces and the whole Clergie in the Conuocation holden at London, 1562. for the auoiding of diuersities of opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion, reprinted by his Maiesties Commandment: with his Royal Declaration, &c.* 4to., 29pp., 1630. This is the first issue with the "Declaration," which is still printed in the Book of Common Prayer, reaffirming "the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established; from which We will not endure any varying or departing in the least Degree." The original edition is in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

(*ii.*) *The Kings Maiesties Declaration to his Subiects, concerning Lawfull Sports to bee vsed.* 4to., 2-17pp., 1633. This is the reissue, with a new preface, of the notorious *Book of Sports*. Copies are in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

(*iii.*) *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, Treated upon by the Archb. of Cant. and York,.....and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy,.....and agreed upon with the Kings Majesties Licence in their severall synods begun at London and York, 1640.....and*

now published for the due observance of them, by his Majesties Authority under the Great Seal. 4to., 2-10-42pp., 1640. These are the irregularly enacted Canons which imposed the "*et cetera* oath," and required all ministers periodically to preach non-resistance and the Divine Right of Kings. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

The following are more or less connected with the Exiled Church in Holland.

JOHN CAN, or CANNE, was the successor, after an interval, of Ainsworth. Subsequently he became a Baptist; and, returning to England, had a part in the organizing of Broadmead Church, Bristol. His principal works are:

The Way to Peace; or good Counsel for it. Preached upon the 15th Day of the 2d Moneth, 1632, at the Reconciliation of certain Brethren, between whom there had been former Differences. 12mo., 1632. Hanbury quotes from this, but neither he nor Dexter appears to have seen an original copy, or to know where one may be found.

A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, prooued by the Nonconformists principles, specially opposed vnto Dr. Ames his Fresh Suit .....*Also Mr. Laiton, Mr. Dayrel, and Mr. Bradshaw are here answered, wherein they have written against us, &c.* 4to., 264pp., 1634. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. Reprinted 1849 by the Hanserd Knollys Society. (For Laiton, *i.e.*, Leighton, see below; Dayrel had written *A Treatise of the Church.....against them of the Separation, Commonly called Brownists, &c.* 4to., 266pp., 1617.)

A Stay Against Straying, &c. Printed at Amstersdam, 1639: is quoted by some of Canne's antagonists. The only known copy is in the University Library, Cambridge.

The Informer: or a Treatise to shew what Authority and Government is lawfull and true according to the Scriptures... Also, Here is added a briefe discription of the true visible Church of Christ. 16mo., 40pp., no pl., 1641. Copies at Trinity College, Camb., and in Dr. Dexter's collection.

Syon's Prerogative Royal; or a Treatise tending to proove that every particular congregation hath from Christ absolute and entire power, etc....., and is an independent body, etc. 12mo., 64pp., Amsterdam, 1641. In the British Museum.

The rest of Canne's works were published after he became a Baptist. They include:—

The Snare is Broken; wherein is proved by Scripture, Law, and Reason, that the National Covenant and Oath was unlawfully given and taken. 4to., 1649. In the British Museum.

A Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers. 4to., 8-39pp., 1653.

Truth with Time; or Certain Reasons proving that none of the Seven last Plagues are yet poured out. 4to., 14-102pp., 1656.

The Time of the End. 12mo., 32-276pp., 1657.

The Time of Finding, shewing when the Lord will be found, and by whom. 12mo., 18-296pp., 1658.

A Seasonable Word to the Parliament Men. 4to., 2-6pp., 1659.

The last five were written after Canne had become a Fifth Monarchy man. They are all in the Congregational Library.

Brook also mentions the following among his works :—*Two Sets of Notes*, accompanying editions of the Bible printed at Amsterdam in 1647 and 1664, (a reprint of the latter, 12mo., 1682, is in the Rylands Library, Manchester) ; and another earlier and briefer set not identified : *A Query to William Prynne*, printed with *An Indictment against Tythes*, by John Osborne, 1659 ; *A Twofold Shaking of the Earth* ; and *The Churches Plea.* About these I have no information.

[*The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament*, published under the name of John Canne in 1659, is a satirical fabrication by Samuel Butler, author of *Hudibras.* It is in the Rylands Library, Manchester.]

William Best, apparently a member of the Exiled Church, was evidently the editor, and probably the author, of

A Ivst Complaint Against an Vnjust Doer ; wherein Is declared the miserable slaverie and bondage that the English Church of Amsterdam is now in, by reason of the Tirannicall Gouernment and Corrupt doctrine, of Mr. Iohn Pagett, their present Minister. 12mo., 24pp., 1634. This pamphlet was the occasion of Davenport's *Protestation.* (See *Transactions*, No. III., p. 183). Copies in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Best avowed the authorship of *The Chvrches Plea for her Right, or a Reply to an Answer made of Mr. Iohn Paget, Against W.B. and others, wherein the maine points of our present differences are handled : And the principall causes of our troubles declared.* 4to., 8-100pp., 1635. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Queens' College, Cambridge.

John Paget, already noticed as an antagonist of Ainsworth (see *Transactions*, No. II., p. 110), replied to these and other writings favourable to Congregationalism in

An Answer to the unjust complaints of W. Best, and of such others as have subscribed thereto. Also an Answer to Mr. J. Davenport, touching his report of some passages, etc. 4to., 156pp., 1635. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Libraries.

A Defence of Church Government exercised in Presbyteriall, Classicall, and Synodall Assemblies, according to the practice of the Reformed Churches. 4to., 32-256pp., 1641. Copies in the British Museum and Congregational Library.

To the same author belongs a posthumous work, *Meditations of Death*, 24mo., 12-432pp., Dort, 1639. In the Congregational Library.

This appears to be a convenient place for noting a small group of treatises of historical importance.

Ed. Sandys. *Evropae Specvlvm, or, a View or Svrvey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World, etc.* 4to., 12-248pp., Hagae-Comitis, 1629. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and York Minster.

[An incomplete edition, entitled *A Relation of the State of Religion*, had been surreptitiously printed in 1605, 4to., 182pp., n. pl. Copies in the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.]

There were reprints in 1632, 1637, 1638, 1673, 1687; and an edition in Italian, 1625, is in the Bodleian. The Congregational Library has the edition of 1637.

J. White, (of Dorchester). *The Planters Plea. Or the Grovnds of Plantations Examined, and vsual Objections answered. Together with a Manifestation of the causes movving such as have lately vnderlaken a plantation in Nevv-England.* 4to., 88pp., 1630. The only known copy is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Partly reprinted in A. Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 1846.

T. Morton. *New English Canaan, or New Canaan. Containing an Abstract of New England. Composed in Three Bookes.....Written by T. M. of Cliffords Inn, Gent., upon ten Years knowledge and experiment of the countrey.* 4to., 1632. I find no account of an original copy. A reprint, 4to., 188-4pp., Amsterdam, 1677, is in the Bodleian. Another reprint is in vol. 2 of P. Force's *Tracts relating to the Colonies in North America;* Washington, 1838.

E. Pagitt, a Presbyterian Royalist. *Christianographie, or the Description of the multitude and sundry sorts of Christians in the World not subiect to the Pope, with their Vnitie, etc.* 4to., 24-156-72pp., 1635. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. An enlarged edition, 4to., 210-88-115pp., 1636, is in the British Museum; and a third edition, folio, 1640, in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Heresiography; or a description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of these latter times. 4to., 24-131pp., 1645, in the Bodleian and British Museum; second edition, 4to., 22-160pp., 1645, in the British Museum; reprint, 1646, at Queens' College, Cambridge; third edition, 4to., 14-167pp., 1647, in the British Museum; fourth edition, 4to., 18-170pp., 1647, in the Bodleian and British Museum; reprint, 1648, in the Bodleian; fifth edition, 4to., 18-150-8pp., 1654, in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries; sixth edition, 16mo., 28-287pp., 1661, in the British Museum and Congregational Library; seventh edition, 8vo., 1662, in the Bodleian.

The Mysticall Wolfe; set forth in a Sermon, etc. 4to., 4-39pp., 1645. In the British Museum.

Brook also assigns to Pagitt *A Treatise of the Ancient Christians in Britany*; 1640. Of this I have no knowledge.

We now come to the memorable group of Puritan confessors who alone dared to controvert the pretensions of a dominant ecclesiasticism; and whose atrocious punishment by the High Commission did more than anything else to embitter the strife which it failed to avert, and to bring vengeance on the head of Laud as its chief instigator.

ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University, and father of the amiable Robert Leighton, Abp. of Glasgow.

An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sions Plea against the Prelacie. Printed in the year and month wherein Rochell was lost. 4to., 16-344pp., 1628; in the British Museum and Williams's Library. For writing this book Leighton was whipped, branded, mutilated, and imprisoned for eleven years! After his release he wrote

An Epitome, or Brief Discovery, from the Beginning to the Ending, of the many and great Troubles that Dr. Leighton suffered in his Body, Estate, and Family, for the Space of Twelve Years and upwards: etc. 4to., 93pp., 1646.

In this *Epitome* Leighton mentions an earlier book, *The Looking-glass of Holy War*, for which he had received punishment, apparently about 1624. Of this I can learn nothing further.

JOHN BASTWICK, M.D, was a Presbyterian. He wrote

Elenchus Religionis Papisticae. 12mo., 8-259pp. 2nd edn., 1627, is in the Congregational Library.

Πραξεις των επισκοπων: *sive Apologeticus ad Praesules Anglicanos criminum Ecclesiasticorum in Curia celsae Commissionis, Quaesitores.* 16mo., 10-222pp., 1636. For this book, commonly called *The Practice of Prelates*, Bastwick was pilloried, ear-cropped, branded, and imprisoned for more than three years. Copies are in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

The Letany of John Bastwick; in which there is an universall challenge to prove the parity of Ministers, that the Bishops are neither Christs nor the Apostles Successors, etc. 4to., 1636. In the Bodleian and British Museum, and reprinted in Somer's Collection of Tracts.

The Confession of the Faithfull Witnesse of Christ, Mr. J. B., wherein he doth declare his education, and the grounds of his conversion, and constancie, etc. 4to., 1641. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

Independencie not Gods Ordinance; or a Treatise Concerning Church Government, etc. 4to., 2-168pp., 1645; in the British Museum. There is a *Second Part*, 4to., same year, likewise in the British Museum; also an enlarged edition, entitled

The Utter Routing of the Whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the Totall overthrow of their Hierarchy that New Babel,

more groundless than that of the Prelates. Or Independency not Gods Ordinance, etc. 4to., 130-662pp., 1646. In the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

The Church of England a true Church, proved in a disputation held by F.B. against Mr. W. Montague in the Tower, etc. 4to., 1645. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

A Just defence of F.B. against the Calumnies of John Lilburn. 4to, 1645.

The Storming of the Anabaptists garisons, with a brief Discovery of the weaknesse of the same. 4to., 1647. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, first comes before us as a Conformist, with high-flying notions about the Divine Right of Tithes, and kindred matters; but he gradually developed into an Independent of a pronounced type, and is honoured as the founder of the ancient Congregational church in Stepney. Of his numerous works the following are most noteworthy:—

A Censure of Simonie; Or, A most important Case of Conscience, concerning Simonie, briefly discussed. 4to., 134pp., 1624. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

A Plea to an Appeal. 4to., 24-93pp., 1626. In the Congregational and Williams's Libraries.

The Baiting of the Popes Bull. Or an vnmasking of the Mystery of iniquity, folded vp in a most pernitious Breeue or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, etc. 4to., 52-96pp., 1627. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries, etc.

Israel's Fast; Or A Meditation upon the Seventh Chapter of Joshua, A fair Precedent for these Times. 4to., 38pp., 1628. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

A Trial of Private Devotions: *Or A Dial for the* Hours of Prayer. *By H.B., Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street.—Matt. vi. 7.* 4to., 93pp., 1628. This appears to have been a severe criticism on Bp. Cossin's *Private Devotions*, a manual adapted from the *Hours* in the Sarum Breviary. Extracts are given by Hanbury.

The Powring out of the Seven Vials. 1628. This was suppressed.

Truth's Triumph over Trent: Or, the Great Gulf between Sion and Babylon. 4to., 373pp., 1629. A polemic against the Church of Rome, written several years earlier. In the Congregational Library, etc.

Babel no Bethel; That is, The Church of Rome no true Visible Church of Christ. 4to., 1629. This I know only by the title; a copy once in the Congregational Library is missing.

A Reply of H. Burton, defending what he hath set down in his Sixt Viall concerning Doctor Jackson, etc. 4to., 1629.

Exceptions against a passsage in Dr. Jacksons Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes. ? 1630.

The Law and the Gospel Reconciled, Against the Antinomians. 4to., 70pp., 1631.

The Christians Bulwarke Against Satans Battery; or The Doctrine of Justification. 4to., 10-373pp., 1632. In the Congregational Library. (This is *Truth's Triumph over Trent* reissued with a new title.)

The Grounds of Christian Religion. 1636. In the Rylands Library, Manchester.

For God and the King—the Summe of Two Sermons. 4to., 8-106pp. In the Congregational Library.

An Apology of an Appeale. Also an Epistle to the True-hearted Nobility. 4to., 6-32pp., 1636. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. [For this and the preceding Burton was pilloried, ear-cropped, and imprisoned.]

Laud having published *A Relation of the Conference between W.L. and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit*, Burton, soon after his release, issued

A Replie to A Relation of the Conference, etc.....by a Witnesse of Jesus Christ. 4to., 48-405pp., 1640. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

England's Bondage and Hopes of Deliverance. A Sermon preached before the Parliament. 4to., 1641.

Self-Denyall; A godly Sermon at S. Albans, Wood Street. 1641.

The Protestation Protested. 4to., 24pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

Jesu-Worship Confuted; or Certain Arguments against Bowing at the Name of Jesus. 4to., 2-6pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library.

The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets. 4to., 1641. In the Congregational Library.

A Narrative of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton. 4to., 51pp., 1643. In Williams's Library.

Satisfaction for Mixt Communion Unsatisfactory. 4to., 2-14pp., 1643. In the Congregational Library.

A Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent. 4to., 4-74pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational Libraries.

Parliament's Power in Laws for Religion. 4to., 18-95pp., 1645. In the Congregational Library.

Vindicia Veritatis; Truth Vindicated against Calumny. In a Briefe Answer to Dr. Bastwicks two late Books entituled Independency not Gods Ordinance, with the second part styled The Postscript, etc. 4to., 4-34pp., 1645. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

The Grand Impostor Unmasked. 4to., 20pp., 1645. In the Congregational Library. The publication of this tract is much to be regretted. It is an intensely bitter and spiteful review of the speech uttered by Laud immediately before his death; and must

have produced an effect altogether contrary to what was intended.

Truth Shut out of Door; or a brief Narrative of the.. proceeding of some of Alderman-bury Parish, in shutting their Church-door against me. By me, H.B. 4to., 8pp., 1645. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

Ed. Calamy having replied to this under the title *The Door of Trvth opened; or narrative how H. Burton shut himself out, etc.* (4to., 2-18pp., 1645, in the British Museum and Bodleian), Burton rejoined with

Truth still Truth, though shut out of doores. 4to., 1646; in the British Museum and Williams's Library.

Conformities deformity. In a dialogue between Conformity and Conscience. 4to., 1-28-24pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Rylands Library, Manchester.

A Relation of Mr. Chillingworth is ascribed to Burton by Brook; but I can learn nothing of it.

William Prynne, barrister, was a Presbyterian Royalist, and equally remarkable for his austere piety, his immense industry, his hatred of tyranny, and his devotion to constitutional precedent. His works, large and small, run to about 200 titles on a great variety of subjects; and the collection of them which he presented to the library of Lincoln's Inn was comprised in 40 volumes, folio and quarto. About 50 of his treatises are in the Congregational Library; but only a small part of them need noting in this place.

The Perpetuitie of a Regenerate Mans Estate. 4to., 40-411pp., 1626. In the Congregational Library.

Healthes; Sickness.....proving the Drinking and Pledging of Healthes to be Sinful. 4to., 32-86pp., 1628. In the Congregational Library.

Anti-Arminianism: The Church of Englands Old Antithesis to New Arminianism. 4to., 56-140pp.; bound up with it is *God no Impostor or Delvder;* 4to., 34pp., 1629. In the British Museum and Bodleian. An enlarged edition, with an appendix *Against Bowing at the Name of Jesus*, together 4to., 54-280-11pp., 1630. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Giles Widdowes having replied to these tracts (see above), Prynne retorted with

Lame Giles his haultings: or a briefe survey of Giles Widdowes his Confutation of an appendix concerning bowing at the Name of Jesus. Together with a short relation of the Popish Originall and Progresse of this Groundless novel ceremony. 4to., 1631; in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scovrge, or Actors Tragaedie. 4to., 34-1006-40pp., 1633. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. This is the book for which Prynne lost his ears.

A Breviate of the Prelates intolerable usurpations. 1635. No original copy known ; but reprinted, 4to., 325pp., 1637. Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian and Williams's Libraries.

The Vnbishoping of Timothy and Titus..... prooving Timothy to be no Bishop (much less any sole, or Diocaesan B.) of Ephesus, nor Titus of Crete. 4to., 4-176pp., 1636. In the Bodleian and British Museum. A reprint, 4to., 2-52-149pp., 1660, is in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

A Looking Glasse for all Lordly Prelates. 4to., 20-104pp., 1636 ; in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

[?] *Newes from Ipswich, discovering certain Practices of some lordly Prelates.* 4to., 8pp., 1636. This was published under the pseudonym of M. WHITE, but is generally supposed to have been written by Prynne. A copy is in the Congregational Library.

A Quench Coale.....in what place of the Church or Chancell the Lord's Table ought to be situated. 4to., 78-358pp., 1637. In the British Museum and Bodleian. This was an answer to Bp. Williams's *Coale from the Altar* (see above).

A Catalogne of such testimonies in all ages as plainly evidence Bishops and Presbyters to be both one, jure Divino. 4to., 1637. Reprinted 1648 ; but I cannot learn where either is to be found.

Lord Bishops none of the Lords Bishops. 4to., 78pp., 1640 ; in the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational Libraries. (Reprinted 1648.) Annexed is *Good Counsel for the present state of England.* 12pp. The authorship of these tracts is doubtful ; Prynne does not acknowledge them ; and some authorities assign them to Bastwick.

The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie, Both to Regall Monarchy, and Civill Unity. 4to., 822pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Mount Orgueil : or Divine and Profitable Meditations. Raised from the Contemplation of.....[1]Rocks, [2]Seas, [3]Gardens.....A Poem of the Soule's Complaint against the Body ; and Comfortable Cordialls against the Discomforts of Imprisonment, etc., are hereto annexed. 4to., 10-184-4-16pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library. This was written during his imprisonment in Mount Orgueil Castle, Jersey.

A Pleasant Purge for a Roman Catholic. 1641 or -2. I know nothing of this but the title.

A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny, in their late Prosecutions of Mr. Wm. Pryn, an eminent lawyer ; Dr. John Bastwick, a learned Physitian ; and Mr. Henry Burton, a reverend Divine ; 4to., 48-228pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

A vindication of Psalm 105, 5 ver., from some false glosses. 4to., 8pp., 1642.

A Soveraign Antidote to determine our Unnatural Civil Wars. 4to., 23pp., 1642 or -3.

The Popish Royal Favourite. 4to., 8-76pp., 1643.

Rome's Masterpiece. 4to., 2-36-2pp., 1643.

The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes; Divided into Fovre Parts, Together with An Appendix. 4to., very irregularly paged, but in all 632pp., in various registers. There is a sub-title, *The Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists to their Sovereigns in Doctrine and Practice.* 1643. This and the four preceding are in the Congregational Library.

Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government. 4to., 8pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

A Full Reply to certain briefe Observations and anti-Queries on M. Prynnes Twelve Questions, etc. 4to., 24pp., 1644. In the British Museum and the Bodleian.

A Breviate of the Life of W. Land, etc., fol., 6-36pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational and other libraries.

The Falsities and Forgeries of the Anonymous author of a late Pamphlet, entituled, The Fallacies of Mr. W. Prynn; 4to., 8pp., 1644. In the British Museum, and at Yale College.

Trvth Trivmphing over Falshood, Antiquity over Novelty,.....in refutation of Mr. J. Goodwin's Innocencies Triumph, etc. 4to., 12-156pp., 1644; in the British Museum. Reprint 1645, in the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

Independency Examined, Vnmasked, Refuted by twelve New Particular Interrogatories. 4to., 12pp., 1644. Two editions the same year. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. There is also a reprint 1651.

A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandring-Blasing-Stars and Firebrands, stiling themselves New Lights, etc. 4to., 12-48-28pp., 1645; in the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries. An enlarged edition, 4to., 12-88pp., 1646, in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Hidden Workes of Darkenes brought to Publike Light. Or a Necessary Introduction to the History of the Archbishop of Canterburies Triall, etc. fol., 6-264pp., 1645; in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries.

Canterburies Doome; or the First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud, late Archb. of Cant. fol., 6-580pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

New Presbyterian Light Springing out of Independent Darkness. 4to., 12pp., 1647. In the Congregational Library, &c.

[*W. Prynn, his Defence of Stage Plays, or, a Retraction of a former Book of his called Histrio-Mastix.* 4to., 8pp., 1649.] In the Bodleian. This is a not very clever forgery—a mere lampoon, though several respectable writers have accepted it as genuine. It was reprinted in 1822 and 1868. A facsimile in the Congregational Library.

A Brief Apologie for all Non-subscribers and looking-glasse for all apostate perjured prescribers subscribers of the New Engagement. 4to., 2-14pp., 1650. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

A Gospel Plea for the Lawfulnes and Continuance of the Ancient Settled Maintenance and Tenths of the Ministers of the Gospel. 4to., 28-155-2-168-4pp., 1653.

The Quakers unmasked. 2nd edn., 4to., 42pp., 1655.

A Short Demurrer to the Jews long discontinued Remitter into England. 4to., 10-105pp., 1656.

The Bounden Duty of Ministers to Administer the Sacrament to their Parishioners. 1656.

Re-Publicans and other Spurious Good Old Cause. 4to., 2-18pp., 1659.

A Seasonable Vindication of the Supream Authority and Jurisdiction of Christian Kings, Lords, Parliaments. 4to., 8-118pp., 1660.

A Short, Sober, Pacific Examination of some Exuberances in, and Ceremonial Appurtenances to, the Common Prayer. 4to., 10-136pp., 1661. The last seven are all in the Congregational Library.

A Moderate, Seasonable Apology for indulging just Christian Liberty to truly Tender Consciences, Conforming to the Publike Liturgy. In not bowing at, or to, the Name of Jesus, etc. 4to., 1662. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's Library.

With Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and Prynne we naturally associate the proverbially disputatious JOHN LILBURNE, who was whipped for circulating some of their pamphlets. Only the earliest of his own effusions—most of which were political or personal—are antecedent to the meeting of the Long Parliament. The following call for notice:—

Come out of her, my People: or an Answer to the Questions of a Gentlewoman... about Hearing the Public Ministers ...Also a Just Apology for the Way of Total Separation, commonly but falsely called Brownism. 4to., 35pp., 1639. I only know of this by the extracts in Hanbury.

A copie of a Letter to Mr. Prinne, Esq., upon the coming out of his last booke, intituled, Truth Triumphing. 4to., 1645; in the Bodleian and British Museum.

The Engagement vindicated and explained, etc. 4to., 1650. In the Bodleian.

The intimate relations which grew up between the English Puritans and the Church of Scotland demand that the following should be noted; they are all in the British Museum and the Bodleian:—

General Demands concerning the late Covenant; propounded by the Ministers and Professors of divinitie in Aberdene, to some Rev. brethren who came thither to recommend the late Covenant to them. 4to., 1638.

The Ansvveres of some brethren of the Ministerie to the replyes of the

Professors at Aberdeen. 4to., 44pp., 1638. [By A. Henderson and D. Dickson.]

Duplyes of the Ministers and Professors of Aberdene to the second answeres of some reverend brethren concerning the late Covenant. 4to., 1638.

The following should be examined, as it seems only to be known by its title :—

A Guide unto Sion; or certaine positions concerning a true visible church, etc. 8vo., 1639; an enlarged edition u.d.; both in the Bodleian.

It is not always clear whether anonymous tracts dated 1640 were issued before or after the meeting of Long Parliament. The following, in any case, is best noticed here, from its relation to the *Unconstitutional Canons* referred to above :—

Englands Complaint to Jesus Christ, against the Bbs. Canons, of the late Sinfull Synod, a seditious Conventicle, a Packe of Hypocrites, a sworn Confederacy, a Traitorous Conspiracie against the true Religion; 4to., 50pp., 1640. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

ADDENDUM TO BIBLIOGRAPHY IN *TRANSACTIONS* NO. 3.

P. 179, l. 28. *Abstract or* [error for *of*] *the Lawes of New England.* Rev. Dr. Brown of Bedford informs me that there is a copy in the British Museum; and a MS. in the Duke of Bedford's library at Woburn Abbey is *supposed* to be the original.

King William III and the Nonconformists

The following letter was lately found, amongst a forgotten bundle of old papers, in the Congregational Library.

London 9th July 1692

Sr The Kinge before his last goinge beyond the Seas was pleased to direct that Inquirey should be made of the moneys formerly Levied on Dissenters by vertue of ye Penall Statuts made in that behalfe ; and the Lds Comitioners of the Tresury pursuant thereunto. havinge Considered and Debated the methods proposed for doing thereof. were pleased to approve of that proposed by Mr Baker and Mr Stepkin: and accordingly by there order of the 31th May last. appointed the said Mr Baker and Mr Stepkin to proceed forthwith in there discovery and recovery of the said monies. wherein they have aleready made a Considerable progresse in and about this Citty—and do desire the aid and assistance of all persons that have been Sufferers in this matter : and others that have aney knowlidge thereof. which they do not doubt of in ye least but that all persons whatsoeve that know aneything thereof will readily afford it : beinge a Service that will be acceptable to his mati. and probably a meanes to procure from his Mats. bounty a Considerable part thereof. upon recovery for the use of the poorer sort of the Sufferers ; his Majtie. having given ordr that after the Compensacion to the prosecutrs. the residue thereof when recovered shall be paid into the Privey Purse upon there Seasonable application to his Matie for the same. It is desired a list be taken of every person that hath paid or bin distreined for aney the said monies. and of the persons to whome the same were paid. and the yeare when. I know you are able to do good service therein : and there fore att Mr Bakers request I send to you to desire you to take such a List in maner aforesaid of all within your Neighbourhood and knowlidge : and what charge you are at in so doing will be remited from hence to you they not

desireing to put any Sufferer to aney charges in the least in making there discoverys: and for your readiness and trouble herein the said Mr Baker and Mr Stepkin will gratifie you out of ye same. Pray make ready a list as soon as posable and send it to them at there Chambers in Mr Kellets buildings over against the East end of the Kings bench office in the Inner Temple. I am—Sr. y^r^ Lo. ffriend:

Joseph Boson.

Addressed "To Mr Mathew Stresley in Otrey Stt Marey nere Exon. these." Endorsed "Mr Bosons letter of Enquiry about ye Losses of those yt had been persecuted."

The Seal, (of which only a fragment remains), bore a Shield with much mantling; the charge looks like three arrows palewise, two and one.

This letter seems to imply [1] that some magistrates or other persons had not accounted for fines levied upon Dissenters, of which indeed there is otherwise abundant evidence; [2] that they had withheld from informers the shares to which they were legally entitled; and [3] that King William had an idea, after meeting the legal claims of these informers, of returning the balance to the victims of legal persecution. It would be interesting to know whether in any case this kindly project was realised.

Incipient Congregationalism in Halifax

The following letter, carefully transcribed from the original in the Congregational Library, relates to the origin of the Square Church, Halifax, (at first located in Chapel Fold), and the ordination of its first pastor.

Halifax June 3^{d} 1763

Dear Sir,

Since our com^{n} Friend Mr Armitage in his Return from Manchester signified to me y^{r} kind Intention of seeing us at Halifax, I have greatly longed for the intended Time, not doubting that such an Interview w^{d} answer sev^{l} valuable Ends to me — I have not hitherto had the Happiness of a personal Acquaintance wth you, w^{ch} to have wth the dear Children of y^{e} Cov^{t}, is to me y^{e} highest Hon^{r} I wish in this World, & Part of Heaven possest below. My Heart is too cold, & too much unaffected wth y^{e} dear Redeemers Love, I therefore want to catch ye Flame, to get more heavenly seraphick Fire from my dear Brethren in y^{e} Lord. To talk wth y^{e} Angels of his Churches, to consult ab^{t} y^{e} Affairs of his Kingdom here below, is sweet & profitable, is a noble Work; may our Hearts be more and more delighted wth it & engaged in it! Our dear Lord accord^{g} to his gracious & eternal Purposes, hav^{g} raised up in Halifax a few Children to Abr^{m} from lifeless Stones to be to y^{e} Praise & Glory of y^{e} Redeemer, we seem to thirst for a full Enjoym^{t} of those Privileges peculiar to God's People, in y^{e} religious Use of his Ordinances. We are already collected in a Body & have in some measure or manner formed a Church, as near to y^{e} Pattern given, as our Judgm^{ts} directed; of this I need not enlarge: but as I have not yet been set apart for ye great Work I am chosen to, (first I trust by God, & secondly) by y^{e} People, ye Cause we are engaged in necessarily starves; and amidst a World of Opposition from every Quarter, a Deficiency of this kind is not inconsiderable—Therefore together wth

a few of my Brethren whose Names are underwritten I desire you w^d^ hasten and fix y^e^ intended visit to Yorkshire ; and if y^e^ Fav^r^ can be granted, assist us in that Solemnity of my Ordination. Our dear and much hon^d^ Broth^r^ Edwards is ready to join w^th^ you in y^e^ sacred Work ; and I am the rather encouraged to apply to you w^th^ more Boldness, from y^e^ universal Report of y^e^ Christianlike disinterested Sp^t^ you are happily posses'd of. Thanks be to God for every *Star*. As I expect my dear Friends from Leedes will write to you on y^e^ same, I forbear to enlarge, & only beg to subscribe Myself y^r^ unworthy yet affectionate Brother in Xt.

Titus Knight
John Plats
John Bates
Stephen Rawson
Jonath^n^ Hodgson
William Smith
John Ackroyd

Joseph Robertshaw
Jonas Ingham
Joshua Smith
George Hanson

To Mr Warhirst

The Bourton Church-Covenant

Amongst a bundle of forgotten papers lately discovered in the Congregational Library is the original MS. of this interesting covenant. Though the church is Baptist by its traditions it is remarkable that the document makes no allusion to Baptist peculiarities. It was locally published in 1861 ; but the volume which contains it, *Pictures of the Past*, is scarce and difficult to procure. It seems desirable therefore to reproduce it direct from the original, with a few historical notes from material kindly furnished by the Rev. G. A. Ambrose, the present pastor.

Quite early in the seventeenth century Puritans were accustomed to meet for prayer and religious converse at a place called Slaughter, three or four miles from Bourton-on-the-Water. In 1750 an old man of Bourton named Reynolds reported that his grandfather, who was of a great age when he was a boy, used to tell that in his youth he was accustomed to take *his* grandmother to such a meeting. It does not appear that the attendants at this conventicle were Separatists ; but in 1655 there was a regularly constituted Baptist church at Bourton, which sent messengers to an Association meeting at Warwick. Seven churches were represented : Alcester, Bourton, Derby, Hook-Norton, Moreton-in-the Marsh, Tewkesbury, and Warwick : and on 4th March, 1655, they drew up a distinctly Baptist Confession of Faith in 16 articles.

In 1660 Rev. Anthony Palmer, M.A., rector of Bourton, being ejected from his benefice, joined

the dissenting society ; and though not a Baptist became their pastor. He afterwards removed to London, probably about 1669 ; there he ministered for some years at Pinner's Hall, and died 26 July, 1678. Subsequently the Revs John Collett and Joshua Head became joint pastors at Bourton. The congregation was gathered from villages five or six miles round, and endured much persecution ; in which two local magistrates, Benjamin Hyett and Richard Parsons by name, distinguished themselves ignobly. Fines amounting in all to £190 17s. were levied on 33 of the members ; and of this total fifty pounds was paid, in 1685, by Edward Bulstrode Esqr., of Tewkesbury, on behalf of fourteen of the victims, including the two pastors. The Revolution brought relief ; and in 1701 a meeting-house was built, at a cost of something less than £90. Under circumstances of which no memorial remains the society divided, Mr. Head being pastor of the Baptists, and Mr. Collett of the Paedobaptists. The latter section, however, had ceased to have a separate existence before 1748. Mr. Head died in the year 1719 ; and the church was reorganised 30th January, 1720, when the following covenant was subscribed.

For twenty years after the date of this covenant the records of the church are incomplete. A Mr. Flower was pastor for some time, and there was a vacancy of several years' duration. At length the celebrated Benjamin Beddome was called to the pastorate. He was ordained 23 Sept., 1743, and ministered for the long period of 52 years, dying 3rd September, 1795, in the 79th year of his age. Since that time the church has had varying fortunes under several pastors. It is now in a flourishing condition, with several out-stations ; and has of late reverted to its ancient constitution by admitting Paedobaptists to membership.

The Covenant

We whose Names are underwritten, having been Members & much the Major Part of a Church or Seperate Congregation late under the Pastoral Care of the Revd Mr Joshua Head, decd., & still desirous to walk together in all the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, as much as may be, blameless, (seeing that Church, by reason of different apprehensions of some of the Brethren about the Choice of a Pastour, hath been, in the presence & by the Advice of some neighbouring ministers, peaceably dissolved,) do now freely & heartily give up ourselves afresh to God the Father and his Only Son our Lord and Lawgiver, & to one another according to His Will. And so becoming a new Church or Sacred Society incorporated by the Gospel Charter, do now in the presence of God and those that are here Witnesses of our Order unanimously agree in the Name & fear of Christ

John 15. 12 14
Rom: 13. 8
Ephes: 5. 2
1 Thes: 3. 12
1 Joh: 4. 21

1st. That we will, to the utmost of our Power, walk together in One Body, & as near as may be with one mind, in all sweetness of Spirit & saint-like Love to each other, as highly becomes the Disciples of Christ.

Jude: 3
Gal: 5. 1, 13
2 Tim: 1. 13
Rev: 2. 25

2dly. That we will jointly contend & strive together for the Faith & Purity of the Gospel, the Truths of Jesus Christ. & the Order, Ordinances, Honour, Liberty, & Priviledges of this his Church against all Opposers

Phil: 2. 1-3
1 Cor: 1. 10
Ephes: 4. 3
2 Cor: 13. 11

3dly. That we will with all Care, Diligence, & Conscience labour & study to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, both in the Church in general, and in particular between one another

2 John 10
1 Tim: 6. 3
Rev: 2. 14, 20

4thly. That we will carefully avoid all Causes & Causers of Divisions as much as lyes in us, & shun those that are Seducers & false Preachers of Errours & Heresies

Gal: 6. 2
Heb: 13. 3
1 Cor: 12. 25
2 Tim: 1. 16

5thly. That we will sympathize & have a fellowfeeling (to our power) with one another in every Condition, & endeavour to bear each others Burthens, where we are joyfull or sorrowfull, tempted, or otherwise; that we may be mutual Helps to one another, & so answer the End of our near Relation

Ephes: 4. 2
Rom: 14. 13 & 15. 1
Col: 3 12
1 Cor: 13. 4, 7

6thly. That we will forbear, & bear wth one anothers weaknesses & Infirmitie, in much Pity, Tenderness, Meekness, & Patience, not daring to rip up the weakness of any to those without the Church; nor to those that are within, unless it be according to Christ's Rule & Gospel Order, endeavouring all we can for the glory of the

Gospel, and for the credit of this Church; willing to cover & hide one anothers Slips & common failings that are not sinful

Heb: 10. 23 to the end. Tim: 4. 10 & 16

7thly. That we will, as our God shall enable us, cleave fast to each other to the utmost of our power; & that if perilous Times should come, & a Time of Persecution (which God for our non-proficiency may justly send), we will not dare to go back from our holy profession, but will endeavour to strengthen one anothers hands, & encourage one another to Perseverance, let what will fall to our Lot

Cant: 4. 12 Prov: 11. 13 1 Tim: 5. 13

8thly. We do promise to keep the Secrets of our Church entire without divulging them to any that are not Members of this particular Body, tho' they may be otherwise near and dear to us; for we believe that the Church ought to be as a Garden enclosed & a fountain sealed.

2 Cor: 6. 14 to the end. 1 Cor: 7. 39 Mal: 2. 10 Ezra 9. 2 Nehem: 13. 23 to the 27. Gen: 6. 2, 3

9thly. Those of us that are or may be single persons do fully design never to enter into conjugal Bonds with any that are Unbelievers; for we believe it to be a sin to be unequally yoked, that it is contrary to the Rule of Christ, & the ready way to hinder our souls' peace, growth, & eternal wellfare.

Heb: 13. 26 2 Cor: 9. 1 chap. 8. 7 1 Joh: 3. 17

10thly. That we will communicate to one another of the good Things of this Life, as God hath or may prosper us, so far as our Ability will suffer, or any of our Necessities shall be thought to require.

Lev: 19. 17 Gal: 6. 1 Heb: 10. 24

11thly. That we will endeavour to watch over one anothers conversation for Good, not for each others halting; yet so as not by any means to suffer sin to rest in the bosom of our Brother, but to remove it by using all possible means to bring the person to repentance & Reformation of Life; & that we will endeavour to provoke one another to Holiness, Love, & good Works.

Heb 10. 25 Acts 2. 42, 46

12thly. We do all purpose constantly to attend the Meetings appointed by the Church, both on the Lord's days & other Days; nothing hindering except Distance, Sickness, or the Works of Mercy & Necessity.

1 Cor: 12. 26 2 Thes. 3. 1, 2 Rom: 12. 15. Acts 12. 12 1 Thes: 5. 25

13th. That we will make Conscience of praying for one anothers Welfare at all times; but especially in Time of Distress, as Poverty, Sickness, Pain, Temptation, Desertion, or the like; & that we will pray for the Peace and Growth of the whole Church in general, & for our Ministers & the success of their ministry in an especial manner.

Signed at Bourton on the Water the 30th Day of January $17\frac{19}{20}$

The mark of Willm ∧ Arkull
Thomas Blizard
James Roberts ×
Andrew Paxford
Rebekah Paxford
Powis Collett
Thos Bishop
Samuel Fox
John Farmar
Thomas Edgarton
James ∋ Strang
his mark
John Collett
Joseph Straing

Richard Straing
John Rubee
Jonathan Turner
Howard Fox
Mary Hunt (?)
Mary Collett
Eliz. Hinman (?)
Denis + Ruby (?)
Jan Limbard (?)
Mary Hayward
Ann × Egerton
Sarah Rawbone
Hanah Cook
Eliz. C. Renolds

Anne Collett
Ruth Collett
Ann Strainge
Mary Beart
Elizabath Pinock
Mary (Richins
Mary [*illegible*]
Mary Rafe
Thomas Collett
John Raynolds
Estar Haynes
John ‖ Walker
John Mabbs (?)
Mary Walker
Catherine Bishop
Sarah Farmar
) Elizabeth Blisard
Joyce Collett
John Charlwood
Aubery × Moris
John Strainge
John Straing
Mary Roberts
William Roberts
Henry Humphris
Sarah Harris
Lawrance Dyer
Sarah Straing

Hannah Paxford
Ann Cooke
Elizabeth Farmar
Elizabeth Rowe
Mary Hathaway
William Fox
Jane Collett
Elizabeth Charlob (?)
Ann Collett
Ann Coombs (?)
Thomas Ellis
Sarah Morris
John Fhluck (?)
Robert Fluck
Elizabeth Wane
Mary Humphris
[*illegible*] Love Collett
Ann Gibbs
Ann Farmar
Samuell Fox
William Nickol
Sarah Kite
Martha Bosner (?)
Sarah Preston
Sarah Ffox
Elizabeth Raynolds

[NOTE.—The Covenant is clearly written, but many of the signatures are very rude; some of them can only be guessed at. Of 34 men, 6 sign with marks; and of 47 women, 3 sign in like manner.]

Isaac Watts's Family Bible

FROM the will of Dr. Watts, (see Milner's *Life* pp. 729 *et seqq.*) it appears that—after numerous legacies—he bequeathed the residue of his library and other effects to the son and three daughters of his sister, Sarah Brackstone. Amongst these effects were two Bibles ; which, towards the end of the 18th century, were sold by auction in Southampton, together with a portrait of Dr. Watts and one of his father ; and were purchased by one T. Izod. The Bibles are now in the possession of Mr. Izod's great-granddaughter, Miss M. Izod, of Park View, Far Cotton, Northampton ; who has kindly furnished transcripts of the interesting genealogical and other matter which is written on their blank leaves. Some at least of this appears to be unpublished.

The more important of the volumes is a quarto Bible, " Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most excellent Majesty, 1614." It was solidly bound in oak boards, covered with leather ; and by Miss Izod's account was originally silver-mounted ; but the silver was torn off before the book came to auction, and has been clumsily replaced by sheet-brass or copper, which is stamped T. IZOD, 1794. Preceding the title page is the Book of Common Prayer ; also Speed's (?) Genealogies, and a Description of the Land of Canaan and the bordering countries, with a curious map.

On the fly-leaf is written, in two places,

" Isack Watts His Booke Which was Gave Him* By His Granfather Evan Culverden In the yeare of Our* lord God 1659 "

Below is written, " William Stride, 1777."

On the other side of the fly-leaf, " Mrs Brackstone " ; and below three lines have been erased, not completely, but so as to be quite illegible.

On the first blank page of the Prayer-book is written,

" Isaac Watts, borne June the 6th 1650.
Mary Watts, borne July the 14th 1654."

On the next page, " Mrs Brackstone."

On the back of the title page of the Bible is written " Isaac and

* In the second inscription, *him*, and *our*.

Sarah Watts were married y^e^ 11th of September 1673, being Thursday.

Isaac the eldest son of Isaac Watts was borne Friday y^e^ 17th of July 1674 at 5 night.

Richard y^e^ second son of Isaac Watts was borne Thursday y^e^ 10th of February 1675 [? $167\frac{5}{6}$].

Enoch y^e^ third son of Isaac Watts was borne Monday y^e^ 11th of March $167\frac{7}{8}$

Thomas the fourth son of Isaac Watts was borne Tuesday the 20th day of January $16\frac{79}{80}$

Sarah the daughter of Isaac Watts was borne Munday the 31st October Ann. Dom. 1681. at 5 morn.

Mary y^e^ 2nd daughter of Isaac Watts was borne Saturday y^e^ 13th February $168\frac{3}{4}$ and was buried y^e^ 1st January $168\frac{5}{6}$

Mary the 3rd daughter and 7th child of Isaac Watts was born Saturday the 10th of Aprill 1687 near 11 at night

Elizabeth the 4th daughter and 8th child of Isaac Watts was borne Thursday the 15th of August 1689 at $\frac{1}{2}$ ho^r^ past 9 att night"

The next entry is on a blank page opposite 1st. Genesis.

"In the year of our lord god 1660
upon y^e^ 10 day of May
Charles y^e^ Second now King
of England Scotland France and
Ireland was proclaimed in
Southampton.

The other volume is a pocket Bible, of which Miss Izod does not mention the date. On the first page is written "Isaac Watts, 1669"; and on blank spaces the following metrical effusions :—

"Contemplations."

Here lyes unfolded in this booke Divine,
Gods love to man, free graces magazine ;
Here lyes unfolded in these sacred lines,
Free grace in Christ, that only mine of mines ;
Here lyes unfolded in each page alone,
Some spirituall food, for saints to feed upon ;
Here flows that fountain, that doth far excell,
Euphrates streams, or good old Jacobs well.
No Jordans floods may be compared to this,
For these are waters, of eternal bliss :
Hence flow those streams, whose virtues passing rare
Admitt no equall, are beyond compare ;
From all distempers whatsoe'er they bee,
These christall streams, will sett y^e^ (sinner ?) free.
The whitest leprosy that e'er was seen,
By this sweet fountains stream, have cleansed been.
Here flows whatever may be calléd good,
For 'tis the fountain of our Saviours blood ;

More worth than all the pearls of Indias shore,
Here's healing salve, for each believers sore ;
Yea more than this, heres greater excellence,
Dead souls are raised, by waters flowing thence.
Christ's blood's the bath that cures each souls disease.
Whence flow these streams, the precious promises.
Where's food divine, where's everlasting pleasure,
Where saints may taste, and eat and live for ever.
What more than this can in a fountain flow ?
What more than this can God or man bestow ?
Yett more than this, yea more than men can tell,
Is found in Christ, whom none can paralell ;
For He's Immortall, how can man express,
That is but mortal, everlastingness.
His glory's far too bright for mortal eyes,
His virtues, Heaven and earth cannot comprise,
His excellenses doe so far extend,
No human retorick it can comprehend.

Acrostick Pettitions.

Eternal Founta[n, heavens triune Jehove ;
Thou Compren S ive, all containing good :
Whose pleasant stre A ms, are mercy, grace, and love,
Surpassing wine, surp A ssing angells food :
Sweetly con C urring in a sea of blood.

My heart with W isdom o Jehova fill,
Lett me part A ke of thy Diviner treasure ;
Teach mee arigh T to chuse ye good from ill,
And lett mee T ast the rivers of thy pleasure,
That I may live to prai S e thy name for ever.

Acrostick Pettitions.

I mortall God in persons three,
S weetly convey thy grace to mee,
A id mee with wisdom from above,
A nd compasse mee about with love,
C over my failings blest Jehove.

W ash off my sins, make clean my heart,
A nd righteousness to me impart ;
T each me to understand aright
T hy sacred word, and with delight,
S hall I peruse it, day and night.

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

No. 5] [JANUARY, 1904

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The Congregational Historical Society

Meeting in the Memorial Hall

The third Annual Meeting was held in the Board Room, Memorial Hall, on Wednesday afternoon, May 13th, 1903. There was a good attendance.

The chair was taken by Dr. J. D. McClure ; prayer was offered by Rev. W. H. SUMMERS ; and minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

The annual report shewed that two issues of *Transactions* had been published ; the number of members was 165, being an increase of 40 during the year. Sympathetic reference was made to the loss the Society had sustained in the death of the Rev. W. J. Woods, B.A.

The Treasurer's statement shewed a balance in the bank of £94 7s. 4d.

Dr. McCLURE, feeling compelled to resign the presidency owing to pressure of other engagements, the Rev. John Brown, D.D., of Hampstead (author of *Life of Bunyan*, etc.), was unanimously elected president for the next year.

Rev. G. CURRIE MARTIN desired to be relieved of the secretaryship, in consequence of his removal to Bradford. A cordial vote of thanks was presented to Mr. Martin for his services from the formation of the Society. The Rev. T. G. Crippen and Mr. Henry Thacker were elected joint secretaries.

In a general conversation which followed several suggestions were made for consideration by the committee : amongst others

That Henry's *Aequity of an Humble Supplication*, and some other early Congregational writings, should be republished.

That a Prize should be offered to students in Congregational Colleges for the best essay on some subject connected with Congregational history.

That a careful catalogue of the portraits and other pictures in the Memorial Hall should be prepared.

* * *

The third autumnal meeting was held in Lansdown Baptist church, Bournemouth, on Tuesday, 13th October, 1903. Owing to several simultaneous meetings the attendance was small.

In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Brown the chair was taken by Rev. R. Lovett, M.A., and prayer was offered by Rev. H. ELVET LEWIS.

Mr. G. BROWNEN read a paper on "Hampshire Congregationalism," which was illustrated by means of a large map.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Brownen ; and he was requested to place the paper in the hands of the committee for publication in the forthcoming *Transactions.*

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Places whence Ministers were ejected, 1660-62 X
Corporate Towns affected by the Five Mile Act, 1665 O
Conventicles reported 1669 ◇
Meetings Licensed under the Indulgence, 1671-2 under unet.
Existing Churches dating from the 17th Century:-
Congregational △
Baptist ▽
(Those after 1688 are dated)
Doubtful Sites indicated by ?
Baptist Meetings distinguished by a broken line
BERKSHIRE.
WILTSHIRE.
SURREY.
SUSSEX.
DORSET.
Woodhay
Ashmansworth
Highclere
Itchinwell
Kingsclere
Tadley
Heckfield
Hartley Waspail
Farnboro
Easton
Burghclere
Ewhurst
Baughurst
Sherfield
Newnham
Stoke
St Mary Bevent
Whitchurch
1140
Overton
Basingstoke
Upton Grey
Odiham
Sutton
Crondall
Farnham
Tidworth
Andover
Clatford
Lower Clatford
Longparish
Ampfort
Up. Wallop
Lower Wallop
Wherwell
Longstock
Stockbridge
Houghton
Crawley
Sombourn
Week
Winchester
Northington
Weld
Alton
Holybourn
Binstead
Kingsworthy
Alresford
Ropley
Selborne
Bramshot
Salisbury
Broughton
Mottisfont
Mitchelmarsh
Hursley
Romsey
Bradland
Baddesley
Whitbury
Rockbourn
Breamore
Damerham
Burgate
1698
Fordingbridge
Ellingham
Moyle Court
Lyndhurst
Upton
Eling
Southampton
Bishop Stoke
Bishops Waltham
Exton
Droxford
Petersfield
Clanfield
Stoneham
Eastley
Shirfield
Weston
Swanwick
Hythe
Titchfield
Southwick
Fareham
1691
Farlington
Havent
Emsworth
Warblington
Chichester
Ringwood
Wimborne
Brokenhurst
Bewley
Sopley
Bushley
Lymington
1700
Poole
Christ Church
Hordle
Downton
Yarmouth
Newtown
St Nicholas
Newport
Castlehold
Carisbrook
Freshwater
Culborne
Mottistown
Brixton
West Court
Powder
Yaverland
Gadshill
Rowner
Portsea
Gosport
Portsmouth
Alverstoke
Hayling
One X in Guernsey
Map to Illustrate
HAMPSHIRE NONCONFORMITY
1660 – 1700

Hampshire Congregationalism

ANY correct idea of the great cleavage that took place in England in 1662 must take into account the earlier and latent spiritual forces ever resisting, actively or passively, the partisan worldly politicians whose aims were selfish, and whose argument brute or legal force. Congregationalism in principle, however, dates from the apostolic age ; and here and there in past centuries, under assaults from its opponents, its protests become apparent, as was the case in the earlier Jewish Church. In a large area like Hampshire independent protest may be seen or heard in one part or church after it has been silenced or ejected from another. Yet it has been said that "Hampshire was a county which clung to the old ways and shewed no desire for change, quietly acquiescing in the changes Henry VIII. made, and glad that no further innovation in doctrine or usage had taken place." No doubt this was true of the political organization of the Church, and perhaps also of the greater number of its adherents in such dark and despotic times. It is, however, well to remember that struggles for freedom and sighings for lost apostolic thought and action may be found in Wessex from ancient, ay, very ancient times. Our Wessex hero, King Alfred, whose remains lie somewhere in Winchester, placed the Ten Commandments in the front of his code of dooms. And Alfred kept friendly intercourse with both Eastern and Western Churches, and such free thinkers as John Erigena and the Irish Culdees found in Alfred a protector and friend.

Narrowing our survey to this western district of Hampshire: In the eleventh century at Christchurch was the ancient monastery of Twynham. It was at that time an association of secular canons, and not regular Augustinian canons as in later times. At the head of this house was a man named Godric, who is described by a Norman opponent as a man of "exemplary manners," and the monastery as "harmonious and happy." Godric had a central church and nine mission chapelries between Lymington and Poole, in the next county of Dorset. It is expressly stated that neither Godric nor his monastery knew the value of the term "dean," or even "prior," for he was simply called "seniores vel patrona," which we may fairly translate elder or father. Against him comes the dean of Winchester and the King's justiciary—the notorious Ranulf Flambard. Flambard wants to remodel and rebuild the monastery by the use or misuse of its own funds. Elder Godric protests, resists, and is ejected and driven into exile. Much as we may admire Flambard's erection in the nave and transepts of Christchurch Priory church, our Free Church sympathies follow Father Godric—a protestant before Luther, and an ejected pastor 560 years before 1662. The cartulary of this Twynham monastery exists, in the form of two huge folio volumes, in the British Museum, and amid its records and charters, near the end, is this significant verse:—

Anno millesimo tricenteno duodeno
Et sexageno Domini dictamine pleno
Ad laudem Christi finis libro datur isti
Spe auctoris hinc gaudeat omnibus horis.

Our free rendering into modern verse is as follows:

It is thirteen centuries and two and seventy years
Since our controlling Lord on earth appears;
To Christ my fullest final song I pour
For joyous hope henceforth for evermore.

As Free Churchmenwe may say Amen. But how is it that all reference to the Virgin Mother or the holy company of heaven is omitted, and the poet scribe directs his simple praise to Christ ? The true answer may be found in Bishop William of Wykeham's *Registers* ; for Lollardy or Wickliffite teaching has infected the monastery—there are records of sowing of tares, heresy, apostacy, sacrilege, "deliberaverit et spiritu diabolico insimul concordarunt." Prior John de Wodenham and seven of his monks, viz., Roger Milton, John Andrews, John Manere, Thomas Portland, John Wymborne, Thos. Snake, and Thomas Corfe, are under episcopal wrath for denying the real presence in the Eucharist and other matters. Wykeham's Commissioners pay several visits to the monastery, and it is only the terrors of the Act *De Heretico* of 1401 that silences the (so-called) "blasphemous talk" in the monastery. Meanwhile an episcopal mandate of Wykeham is issued to the vicar of Odiham as county commissary, with others in Hants, to inhibit and arrest Nicholas Hereford, John Asshton, Robert Alyntone, and Laurence Bedamore, for teaching and preaching specified Wickliffite doctrine in the county, contrary to rule, etc. A few years ago there was discovered on the old outer priory gate lodge, then undergoing repairs, these lines in the characters of the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries :

> This world must end, all things away must fly ;
> Nothing more sure than death, for all must die :
> See then that you improve the days you have,
> For there's no work or counsel in the grave.

We have modernised the spelling, but it no doubt is a relic of a secret conventicle, and so indicates the quiet factors at work within the Church preparing the way for the Reformation.

Out of this monastery came our local Protestant hero, Thomas Hancock, M.A., called by Mr. Roberts

"the Luther of the West." Hancock was born at Christchurch, educated and graduated at Oxford, became an Augustinian canon of Twynham monastery, then a Protestant in the reign of Henry VIII., married, like his German prototype Luther, and became, with the sanction of Cranmer, our local evangelist or gospeller for Hants, Wilts, and Dorset. He fled to Geneva from the Marian fury, and joined Knox, Gilby, and others. Hancock lived to return, but like many of the exiles died in obscurity. His partial autobiography while vicar of Amport, Hants, is among the Fox MSS. of the British Museum, and has been printed by the Camden Society.* Other parts of the county, if the records were recoverable, would afford other and notable instances of independent protest and revolt from Romish supremacy and priestly corruptions; but these local facts must suffice now, and we bridge over the past back to him who wrote "be not conformed to this world," and to the Master Himself, who emphatically declared that His Kingdom was not as the kingdoms of this world, either in constitution, principle, or government.

In the Reformation struggle the Congregational idea is in evidence. In Tindal's (1526) translation of the Bible "congregation" stands for "church" (ecclesia), "repentance" for "penance," and "senior" instead of "priest," reminding us of our old friend Godric, already noticed. Assemblies or congregations such as Rough's were found and broken up in the Marian persecutions. Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum is an epistle and exhortation to the faithful congregation at South Molton, by William Ramsay, minister of the Gospel at Chard, 1562. The State papers shew that in 1575 Archbishop Parker visited Hampshire

*Narratives of the Days of the Reformation. Edited by John Gough Nichols. C. S. 1859.

and "found many dissenters and papists there"; and amongst the eminent divines of this period may be named Dr. Andrew Kingsmill, a native of Winchester, and a relation of the first dean; also Thomas Sampson, D.D., &c. At this time Hancock's autobiography ceases, and he loses his living at Amport; and to make matters worse the episcopal registers become obscure. The State papers for 1639 shew the state of things before the great civil war cleared the air. Thus, "the greater number of the Hants parsonages are impropriate, many vicars are non-resident, and the vicarages let to laymen, and assessed at nothing."

Of course we freely and frankly admit that Independency and Congregationalism have become permanent factors in English religious life since 1662, for it was "persecution dragged them into fame." Yet we must insist that the hostility to Tindal, Hooper, and Coverdale in Tudor times had proceeded from the same cause as procured other ejectments from the State Church—for instance the ejectments by Parker, Whitgift, and Bancroft. We may also admit that the Presbyterian ejectment of 1642 was far too much political and partisan. But, with reference to the later examinations by "the Triers," we must affirm that their avowed aim was the removal of immoral and incapable men from the ministry, respecting some of whom Fuller writes that "offences were so foul that it is a shame to record them." That some innocent persons may have suffered is regrettedly possible; but the motive separates the action of the Triers from all other ejections, as being moral rather than doctrinal. If 1662 be pleaded as a retaliation, then at once we must face the Christianity of such action. But now to come to Hampshire in 1662. Calamy gives us a list of 59 names and places of ejected ministers. Of these only one, Mr. Humphrey Ellis, is said by

Calamy to have conformed subsequently.* We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the list as far as it goes; but a few additions may be made to Calamy's Hampshire list, as we shall presently see.

Dividing the county into districts as in the modern Union, and beginning with the northern division, the ejections were:

Mr.	Humphry Weaver	ejected from	Crondall.
,,	John Yates	,,	Binsted.
,,	Samuel Tutchin	,,	Odiham.
,,	Noah Webb, M.A.	,,	Upton Grey.
,,	— Goss	,,	Heckfield.
,,	John Jennings	,,	Hartley Wespall
,,	Thomas Kentish	,,	Overton.
,,	John Harmer, M.A	,,	Ewhurst.
,,	Samuel Sprint	,,	South Tidworth.
,,	— Marryat	,,	Wallop.
,,	John Pinckney	,,	Longstock.

Of these Mr. Weaver continued in or near his parish, and was often in trouble. He sometimes crossed the county boundary to avoid arrest. He is noted in the *Codex Tenisoniana* 1669 as ministering to "a numerous auditory." He was licensed in 1672 and died 1696. Is John Yates the antagonist of Dr. Montague's *Appello Cesarem* ?† Mr. Tutchin belonged to a remarkable family, which we will notice presently. Mr. Webb itinerated in Surrey, Berks, and Wilts, probably aiding the noteworthy fringe of churches on the county borders (see map). Mr. Jennings went to Leicestershire, where he and his sons engaged in scholastic work, and at Kibworth John Jennings was the tutor of Dr. Doddridge. To the Jennings, father and sons, the academies of Kibworth, Northampton, and Hoxton are greatly indebted; indeed they may be deemed indirectly the outcome of the Hants dispersal.

* There is some evidence of the subsequent conformity of two others, Dr. F. Tcate and George Jones.

† Probably not. According to Ant. Wood the Yates who replied to Montague was minister of St. Andrew's, Norwich. T. G. C.

Mr. Harmer also left the county, but Messrs. Sprint and Pinckney remained in Hants. They appear in the *Codex* of 1669, and among the licensed of 1672. Mr. Kentish went to London, and was occasionally in prison there. The churches in this district dating back to the reign of Charles II. are Alton, Basingstoke, Andover, Tadley, and Whitchurch. They are associated with the labours of Marshall, Hook, and Sprint, ejected in Hants, and Messrs. Chauncey, Pike, and Woodbridge, ejected from Berks. The *Codex* calls Isaac Chauncey "a seditious person." We also get a record of Messrs. Terry and Marryat as "violent, sequestered fellows." In Basingstoke was "a rich old fellow, formerly a soldier"; but "the great bulk were mean people of no account, anabaptist and quaker vagabonds and runabout fellows, &c."

From East Hants the ejected were:

Mr.	Robert Leicester	ejected from	Farlington.
,,	John Rowell (or Ruell)	,,	Hayling.
,,	William Bicknell, M.A.	,,	Portsea.
,,	Benjamin Burgess	,,	Portsmouth.
,,	George Whitmarsh	,,	Rowner.
,,	Urijah Oakes	,,	Tichfield.
,,	John Harrison	,,	Wartlington.
,,	Richard Symons	,,	Southwick.
,,	John Dyman	,,	Clanfield.
,,	John Ridge	,,	Exton.
,,	John Farrol, M.A.	,,	Selborne.
,,	George Upjohn	,,	Ropley.
,,	John Corbet	,,	Bramshot.

Of Messrs. Leicester, Symons, and Dyman we can as yet find no further trace; but the *Codex* reports Burgess with Whitmarsh, and also "Tutchin, a pestilent fellow ejected from Odiham," as holding conventicles in Alverstoke malthouse, near Gosport, and frequented by hundreds of all sorts—sailors and tradesmen. Licences for Hayling were obtained in 1672 by Messrs. Ridge and Rowell; Mr. Bicknell went to Alton, and afterwards to Farnham;

Mr. Harrison to Havant. Mr. Oakes, a strong Independent, emigrated to New England. Mr. Farrol went to Guildford, and also to the county jail ; but later he came back, and died at Lymington, in our own county ; and lastly, Mr. Corbet went to London, and afterwards to Sussex. The church at Gosport, in this district, dates back to the reign of Charles II., and among its pastors are Messrs. Earle, Clifford, Hurrion Williams, Watson, Boyne, &c. Here again we must not overlook the later labours of such men as John Norman of Portsmouth, &c.

Turning now to the middle district of Hampshire we find a longer list, as follows :

Mr.	Taylor	ejected from	Alresford.
,,	Moreland	,,	Wield
,,	Robert Webb	,,	Droxford.
,,	Henry Coxe	,,	Bishopstoke
,,	Nathaniel Robinson	,,	Southampton.
,,	Giles Saye	,,	,,
,,	— Lancaster	,,	Baddesley.
,,	John Warren,	,,	Romsey.
,,	Walter Marshall	,,	Hursley. [stone, I.W.)
,,	John Crofts	,,	Mottisford (or Motte-
,,	James Terry	,,	Michelmersh.
,,	Thomas Warren, M.A.	,,	Houghton.
,,	Jones	,,	Somborne.
,,	Samuel Tomlyne, M.A.	,,	Crawley.
,,	John Hook	,,	Kings Worthy.
,,	Thomas Newnham	,,	Wyke.
,,	Faithful Teate, D.D.	,,	Winchester.
,,	Theophilus Gale, M.A.	,,	,,
,,	John Cook	,,	,, (St. Cross).
,,	Humphrey Ellis (who afterwards conformed).	,,	,,

Of these Messrs. Taylor, J. Warren, Jones*, and Cook have disappeared from later times. Mr. Webb was supported near Hursley by Mrs. R. Cromwell until his death in 1675, aged 42. Mr. Cox appears

* Query whether this is the George Jones who held "a vicarage in Hampshire of above £100 a year"; and who, after being for some years a Nonconformist, became rector of Heveningham in Suffolk, and died there in 1704. (T.G.C.).

as holding a conventicle in Southampton in 1669. Nathaniel Robinson was reported as connected with a Southampton conventicle in 1669, and is claimed as the founder of the Above Bar Congregational church, and the pastor of the Watts family. Besides Mr. Robinson's meeting of Independents we have a glimpse in 1669 of three Presbyterian meetings, three Baptists, one Quaker, and one of Fifth-Monarchy men, with Messrs. Saye, Coxe, Behaut, King, Nod, Harding, and Wise, as reported leaders. Mr. Saye was ordained by the County Association at Bishopstoke on 8th May, 1660, and is a licensed person in the lists of 1672. This ancient Association of Hants Nonconformists was not defunct in 1691, for the Rev. Samuel Chandler addressed the county gathering of Independent churches at Fareham in that year. Mr. Walter Marshall was the author of a long popular treatise on sanctification, and an able controversialist. He seems first to have gone to Winchester, and then to Gosport; the *Codex* calls him "a violent nonconformist." His licence in 1672 is for Southwick and elsewhere. John Crofts is probably the "one Crofts from Botley," mentioned in the reports of 1669 as holding services at Swanmore, near Droxford, but later on he appears in Wilts. James Terry we have already noticed as preaching at Basingstoke, and in 1672 is licensed for Odiham. Mr. Thomas Warren appears as a licence holder at Romsey in 1672. As for Samuel Tomlyne, he is reported in 1669 as that "intruder from Crawley," holding a meeting in Winchester, and later he appears at Andover. Mr. Hook seems to have followed Terry and Marryat at Basingstoke, and preached when old and blind. Messrs. Newnham and Gale's sphere of activity for the earlier time was the Isle of Wight; later, Mr. Gale, as well as Dr. F. Teate, removed to East Anglia.

With the exception of Mr. Robinson's meeting in Southampton the *Codex* reports the numbers attending the conventicles as small, mean, and sometimes with "an unknown jesuit." Can this be possible? Mr. Avery, an ejected minister (not in Calamy's list for Hants)* is reported at Hursley as "chaplain to Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, wife of the late usurper." He was asked in 1669 for his authority to preach, and answered "Jesus Christ was his authority, and that Mrs. Cromwell would support his position if necessary. The results are not given. Of the churches in this district Southampton and Winchester date from the Restoration, and Romsey from the Act of Uniformity two years later.

The southern district is the Isle of Wight, which now includes the Channel Islands. The 1662 ejectments from this district were:

Mr.	Edward Buckler,	ejected from	Calborne.
,,	Simon Pole	,,	West Cowes.
,,	James Creswick, B.D.	,,	Freshwater.
,,	Thomas Clark	,,	Godshill.
,,	Le March	,,	Guernsey.
,,	Robert Tutchin	,,	Newport.
,,	John Crofts	,,	Mottestone (?) perhaps Mottisford (see Mid-Hants)
,,	John Martyn	ejected from	Yarmouth.
,,	Martin Wells	,,	Yaverland.

Mr. Buckler had been one of Oliver Cromwell's chaplains; after his ejection he moved to Dorset. Mr. Pole went to Somerset, and endured seven years' imprisonment. Calamy styles him a bold-spirited man, and an excellent preacher, with a large family, and very poor. Mr. Dunch, a Hampshire squire, and a great friend of the persecuted, often relieved his necessities. Mr. Creswick was ejected and locked out of his church, so that there was no service there on the following Sunday. How long the church remained closed is unknown.

* Probably Richard Avery, ejected from some unnamed place in Berkshire. T. G. C.

but it was not an isolated case in those times. Later Mr. Creswick removed to Yorkshire. Mr. Clark for a time acted as chaplain to Sir Anthony Irby, but later removed to Portsmouth. M. Le March is at least one representative of the Channel Islands, where was a most interesting group of Puritan churches, dating back to the influence and visits of Cartwright and Snape in the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Robert Tutchin was a notable Nonconformist, for he had three sons also ejected, viz., Samuel Tutchin from Odiham, Robert Tutchin from Brockenhurst (who was licensed at Lymington in 1672), and the eldest son, John Tutchin, ejected from Fowey, in Cornwall. Another John Tutchin, of Lymington, perhaps a son of Robert, jun., occurs in the western martyrology as coming under the brutal hand of Judge Jeffries for complicity in Monmouth's invasion, and shamefully flogged and imprisoned. Mr. Martyn itinerated awhile in the Isle of Wight, and then left for Wilts. Mr. Wells continued to minister privately ; his son succeeded the famous Peter Ince as chaplain to Mr. Grove, of Fern Hall, Wilts. The name of Wells sounds familiar to modern Hants Congregationalists. Perhaps we ought add to this list the name of Robert Dingley, of Brixton, who escaped ejection simply by dying at the early age of 40. The church at Newport dates its history back to 1662.

We have now come to the western district of Hants. The ejectments in this area were :

Mr. John Warner, M.A.,	ejected from	Christchurch.	
,, Thomas Browne	,,	Ellingham.	
,, — Crossin	,,	Fordingbridge. (?)	
,, John Haddesley, M.A.	,,	Rockborne.	
,, Samuel Jefferson	,,	Beaulieu (Bewley).	
,, Robert Tutchin	,,	Brockenhurst.	

and also Robert Whittaker and Anthony Warton of Breamore. Mr. Tutchin we have already noticed. Mr. Jefferson has disappeared with the time. Mr.

Haddesley remained for a time in the district, and then went to Salisbury, and was sent to prison like many more ; but he lived to see the Toleration Act, and preached till within a week of his death. Calamy gives Mr. Crossin as ejected from Fordingbridge or some place near it. He afterwards ministered in Devon. We would associate Mr. Robert Whittaker (Magdalen College, Oxon.) with this particular living. Later, in 1672, he took a licence as chaplain to Mr. Bulkeley, of Burgate. Mr. Browne died shortly after ejection ; as also did Mr. Warton of Breamore, who is not recorded by Calamy.

John Warner, M.A., the Nonconformist father of the Christchurch and Bournemouth district is simply named by Calamy, but he deserves a little longer notice. He was born at Haresfield, Gloucester, and took his M.A. at Magdalen Hall, Oxford ; was first vicar of Bathford, but by the influence of John Lisle (the local Cromwellian, of Moyles Court, Ringwood) was obtained for Christchurch, and was its vicar from 1645 to 1660. He was an author, controversialist, and philanthropist, as local records and State papers prove. After ejection he held a conventicle on private property of a personal friend who became one of his elders, until persecution drove him from the town to Lymington, Ringwood, and Sopley, where he died at the age of 56. He left MSS., charities to the Christchurch poor, and "40 shillings for a tombstone to my late dear wife." One of his published works (*Diatriba Justificantis, etc.*), obtained favour with Drs. Kendall and Owen. The work is dated from Christchurch, 1647. Like many others of that stormy time the church was a united fellowship of Presbyterians and Independents. They met in a barn on a plot of land called Culverhays, and the exact spot is covered by the present Congregational church. The fellowship

and its trust were revised and remodelled during the pastorate of the Rev. William Henry in 1735, and from that date it became wholly Independent. A curious but unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the cause for Presbyterianism in 1796, during a time of depression ; but it failed because of the explicit statements of the earlier trust. This curious document, long supposed lost, has quite recently been discovered by Mr. Paris, a solicitor of Southampton, and kindly sent to me as illustrating a futile event in the Nonconformist church history. As the mother church of the Bournemouth district, and dating from 1660, Christchurch forms a venerable link with the older and sterner times. Christchurch, with Ringwood and Fordingbridge, constitute a chain of testimony in West Hants going back to the days of Charles II.

Ringwood was the outcome of the labours of Compton South, B.D., ejected from Berwick St. John, Wilts ; and Fordingbridge owes a debt to the memories of Warton of Breamore (whose work against Antinomianism we possess) ; and Joseph Swaffield, ejected from Odstock, Wilts, whose small work ΣΩΜΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ (or, *The Body of Death*) is also in existence.

On the extreme boundary of Hants and Wilts was another ejection unrecorded by Calamy, viz., that of Mr. Horn of Whitsbury. He was, however, sheltered in the time of evil by Sir William Doddington, of Breamore.*

As regards Moyles Court it was the home of the martyred Lady Alice Lisle, murdered by Judge Jeffries and James II. for sheltering fugitive Nonconformists after Sedgemoor.

Of course the wave of Arianism which swept over the land in the earlier part of the eighteenth

* There is mention of a Mr. Rogers of Dean, but nothing is known of him ; nor is it clear which, of *three* parishes so called, is intended

century broke up many Union churches, and almost annihilated Presbyterianism for the time in Hampshire. As a result many churches became purely Independent ; a few turned Baptist ; many died out, but revived later as Methodists.

British Congregationalism is deeply indebted to Hampshire on two important accounts. First it was a native of Hants, and a son of a Nonconformist sufferer for conscientious convictions—Isaac Watts, born in Southampton—whom our British races have to thank, under God, for the revolution in hymnology, preparing

> "Fresh honours to His name,
> And songs before unknown."

We need not stay to sing Watts's praise ; it is sufficient that no hymnal is complete without some of his productions.

The second matter is also an innovation, for at Gosport the London Missionary Society was practically born. Mr. George Welch, a member of the Kemp-Welch family of Hampshire, and well known to Congregationalists, in concert with Mr. David Bogue, pastor of Gosport Independent church, were amongst the nursing fathers—Mr. Welch as the financier and Dr. Bogue as the trainer of missionaries for their work. More than 150 missionaries were trained in the Gosport academy ; some of them are still names of renown in heroic enterprise. We may also join to this fact the earlier record that Jennings, the ejected from Hartley, conceived the thought of a home seminary for Nonconformist outcasts, which is linked with Doddridge, Kibworth, Northampton, &c. Isaac Chauncey and Jeremiah Smith of Andover must not be forgotten in connection with the Hants seminary systems of the past times.

Dr. Evans's lists, and Mr. Joshua Wilson's MS. notes in the Memorial Hall Library (which by the

courtesy of Mr. Crippen we have been permitted to examine), shew that between 1717 and 1729 Hampshire nonconformity was represented by 14 Presbyterian,* 12 Baptist, 9 Independent, and 8 Quaker causes or churches. The list given by Neal for 1715-6 is 41 causes and of these 9 were Baptist. In 1812 there are 2 Presbyterian, 26 Congregational, and 17 Baptist causes; later still, in 1827, Presbyterianism is reported as extinct, and 30 Congregational and 25 Baptist churches are recorded. But now, in 1903, the Hampshire Congregational Union Report enumerates 73 distinct churches, besides above 50 branches and missions; while our Baptist brethren have 55 churches, with about 23 branches and missions.

Looking backwards we may add that the licences under the Indulgence of 1671-2 are in S.P.D. Charles II. 321 and S.P.D. Charles II. Entry Book 38a, and the Hampshire records are:—

Persons: 24 Presbyterians, 13 Congregationalists, 5 Baptists; total, 42
Places: 36 „ 23 „ 7 „ „ 66

The *Codex Tenisoniana* of 1669 names 53 persons and 41 places or conventicles. The Hampshire ejections recorded by Calamy number 61, but the real number is probably 67.

The diagrammatic map appended illustrates the extent of Hampshire nonconformity to the end of the 17th century. On this map the 17th century Parliamentary boroughs are marked with circles,† thus shewing the operation of the Five Mile Act in Hants. Ejections are marked with a cross; the conventicles mentioned in the 1669 reports with a

*Of these fourteen churches eight are now Congregational; three (Portsmouth, Newport, and Ringwood), became Unitarian; and three (Crondall, Kingsclere, and Petersfield) are extinct. But in all these, except Kingsclere, are Congregational churches of later origin.—T.G.C.

†These boroughs were Andover, Christchurch, Lymington, Petersfield, Portsmouth Southampton, Stockbridge, Whitchurch, Winchester, with Newport, Newtown, and Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. Other ancient corporate towns are Alresford, Alton, Basingstoke, Romsey, &c., but owing to ambiguous wording it is not clear whether the Five Mile Act applied to them.—T.G.C.

diamond shaped mark; Congregational churches founded from 1660 to 1700, and still existent, with a small pyramid; Baptist churches for the same period with an inverted pyramid for difference, those (7) originating after the Toleration Act of 1689 being dated; while the licences of 1671-2 have the place names underlined.

It must, however, be clearly understood that the map does not profess to shew the later developments of either denomination, but merely the linkage with the 1662 ejectments, and its subsequent time of trial and persecution. Thus only one Baptist church—that of Broughton—dates back to the reign of James II.

GEORGE BROWNEN.

Recovery of a Lost Treatise by Robert Browne

IT is well known that Bancroft, in the memorable sermon at Paul's Cross in February, 1589, in which he first propounded the divine right of prelacy, quoted from Robert Browne a passage in depreciation of Presbyterianism, which quotation it has hitherto been impossible to verify. Recently, however, the source of the quotation has very unexpectedly come to light. An American student, Mr. Champlin Burrage, while examining —for a totally different purpose—a volume of MSS. in the British Museum, was impressed with the remarkable clearness and excellent preservation of a document signed "R. Browne." On reading it some passages appeared strangely familiar, and it soon became evident that he was reading words which were quoted by Dexter from Bancroft, and by Bancroft from Browne. The treatise, which occupies eleven closely written pages of foolscap, is in the form of a letter addressed to his uncle, Mr. Flower; and was written at the end of December, 1588—only a few weeks before it was used by Bancroft. It contains particulars of which little if any notice has been taken by historians; and throws much light on the mental process by which Browne had come to submit to the existing authorities. It supports Dexter's view that his mind had been enfeebled by suffering; and also proves the correctness of the opinion held by his contemporaries, that his conformity was only outward. Like many others he seems to have cherished the illusive dream of a pure and scriptural *ecclesia* within a State-Church

Establishment. In short, as Mr. Burrage happily expresses it, the treatise contains "a whole platform of church discipline." Unfortunately the MS. is defective, one or two leaves having been lost from near the middle; but to judge from what precedes and follows the missing portion is that which could best be spared. The treatise has no title in the MS., but may be fitly named, from a phrase near the end, *A New Years Guift.* It has been carefully edited by Mr. Burrage, with a useful and suggestive Introduction, and it has been thought best to publish it in a separate form. Members of the Society will receive copies with the present issue of *Transactions.*

III

HATCH LEWIS, M.A., SATERLEIGH,

ALSO took out licence for house of Robert Hatch, Saterleigh. Ejected from the rectory of Saterleigh.

In the church at Saterleigh are monuments to members of this family, the name being spelt Hacche, viz: Robert Hacche Gent 1628; Lewis Hacche, 1637; Robert Hacche, Esquire, 1699.

HIERON SAMUEL, SCHOOL HOUSE, HONITON,

a grandson of Samuel Hieron, of Modbury, Devon, a very celebrated Puritan minister and writer; was M.A. of Merton College, Oxford, ejected from Fineton, Devon, and retired to Honiton, where he had been born. He suffered greatly for his nonconformity, and was imprisoned under the Five Mile Act at Exeter. A very good friend to the poor. He remained at Honiton till the Duke of Monmouth's landing, and then went to London, and died soon after at Newington. There was also a licence taken out for the meeting house adjoining the schoolroom, Honiton. A number of Nonconformists at the time of the Indulgence met in ye Back House of one Mr. William Clarke, chandler, which they fitted up as commodiously as their situation and circumstances would admit.

(*MSS. Account Nonconformist Churches*, Bristol, 1780).

At Midsummer Quarter Sessions for Devon, 1689, there is a memorandum "at this present General Sessions it was certified unto this courte that the house called Chapple in the Toune of Honiton" and others were "severally used for places of religious Worshippe" according to the Toleration Act. (Hamilton's *Quarter Sessions*, p. 251).

HERRING RICHARD, M.A., EXETER.

Ejected from the rectory of Drewsteignton, and died about 1675. He also took out a licence for Lew Down, Devon.

HICKS JOHN, NEW-BUILT MEETING HOUSE, KINGSBRIDGE.

Also took out licence for own house Kingsbridge. He was ejected from Saltash, Cornwall, 1662, and removed to Kingsbridge, Devon. Mr. Hicks seems to have been one of the most sorely persecuted of the Nonconformist ministers in Devon. As early as 1671 there was published *A true and faithful Narrative of the sufferings and oppressions of many Christians* (*injuriously and injudiciously called Fanatiques*) *since the 10th of May, 1670, etc. As also of the most malicious prosecution of nine innocent persons at the Assizes held at Exon in the county of Devon, April 1671.* 4to. Printed in the year 1671.

This rare and curious book was written by Mr. Hicks, and in Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial* is a remarkable account of an interview which the author had with King Charles II., and of the conversation which passed on the subject of this book, with the results of it. (Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial* 1775, vol. I., p. 288). At pages 31 and 32 of one

copy of this work twenty-one lines of the original text have been attempted to be cancelled by a substituted paragraph pasted over them (*Bibliothecae Devoniensis*, 1852, p. 96).

The following are some extracts from this interesting work :—

"On the 29th of May, 1670, Mr. George Reynell of Malston, in the parish of Sherford, Devon, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace (though a sufficient disturber thereof) being informed by some persons employed for that purpose that there was an assemblage of people at the house of Mr. John Hicks, a Nonconformist in the town of Kingsbridge, came there about eleven o'clock in the forenoon attended by several persons of indifferent character and stormed the street door with an iron bar ; but failing of his purpose, his brother, Arthur Reynell, went round to the back door, which finding open, and having obtained the key of the street door, he admitted the justice and his attendants, who directly went upstairs and made enquiries for Mr. Hicks the supposed preacher. His search, however, was fruitless, and in the rage of disappointment, abused his wife, Mrs. Hicks, in most ungentlemanly language, very unbecoming a justice of the peace, both here and at the tavern afterwards. Before they left Hicks's house they endeavoured to take down the names of those present, but their agitation was so great from disappointment, malice, and perhaps guilty fear, that they could not or would not complete the task. Justice Reynell, however, was not dismayed by this. On the next day, May 30th, he determined to convict several persons on the statute against conventicles. In the first instance he levied a fine of twenty pounds on Mr. Hicks, although it could not be proved that Mr. Hicks or any other minister had ever preached or taught there, and issued his warrant accord-

ingly to the constables of Kingsbridge to take distress on his goods; but he, refusing to open his doors to them, Mr. Reynell (for we will no longer call him justice) transferred the penalty of the law to some of his supposed hearers by levying forty shillings on one Roger Bastard, who was not present at Hicks's house at the time of the supposed meeting; twenty shillings on Thomas Cole, of Kingsbridge, who refusing to pay it Mr. Reynell added to the former fine fifteen shillings more, and ordered the constables to distrain thirty sheep for it, quite contrary to the laws of England as by the 51 Henry III. 'Distresses shall be reasonable and not too great, and he that taketh great and unreasonable distresses shall be grievously amerced for the excess,' ditto 28 Edward I., etc. Forty shillings was levied on Crispin Collings, who, considering it an imposition, appealed to the law for relief, but could obtain no redress of grievance.

"The reader has already been informed that on the 12th of June, 1670, a number of persons stationed themselves around Mr. Hicks's house in Kingsbridge, in a hostile manner, among whom was John Lucas, armed with a pistol. This fellow the party in the house thought it most safe to seize and disarm. In the month of December following this Lucas was taken ill, and died in January, 1671, whereupon Mr. Bear and his colleagues determined to charge the cause of his death to the above circumstance, and Mr. Hicks was singled out by them to be arraigned for the alleged murder, although Lucas was in good health long since the affray happened, and never accused him of such an assault.

"However, Justice Bear, being now returned from the sessions, enquired into the affair; and the widow of Lucas made oath that her husband declared during his sickness that Mr. Hicks came

out of his house with a number of other persons, among whom were Mr. Bevil Bastard, Henry Luke, William and Richard Gilberd, — Merrigame, John Leech, Nicholas Huxome, and John Bowen, who seized and treated him (Lucas) in a very violent manner, so that he was never well afterwards, and to bear out this assertion her father, a man of the name of Kellond, swore there were marks of blows on his person at the time of his decease. With this evidence Justice Bear issued his warrants to apprehend all the persons accused with this alleged murder, who immediately surrendered themselves, excepting Mr. Hicks, who had been absent from the country since August, and was ignorant of the impeachment that was about to be brought against him. Bear refused bail to the accused party, and would have sent them to gaol had not two other justices interfered, and taken sureties for their appearance at the Assize. They had proceeded so far with the prosecution without having a coroner's inquest on the body of the deceased, and it seems they would much rather have dispensed with that excellent mode of enquiry ; but the persons who were to be charged with the deed, being well aware of their own innocence, demanded a coroner's inquest, and a jury being impanelled according to law the witnesses on each side were examined with impartiality ; first the evidence of the accusers (the widow of Lucas and her father) who swore to the same effect as they did before the justice. Then followed the evidence for the defendants. The natural parents of the deceased, who, it is well known, had the greatest affection for their late son, and whose tender feelings were renewed when the body was taken from the grave, after it had lain there nearly a fortnight, yet they could not in their conscience impeach any one person as being the cause of his death ; they declared he was strong

and healthful from the 12th of June until the time he was taken ill in December, and during his sickness they never heard any complaint of this nature ; they deposed that their belief was that the persons accused were not by any means accessory to the death of their son. The physician stated that *bona fide* he died of a putrid fever ; and several other witnesses confirmed the good health and activity of the deceased, long since the 12th of June. The evidence having been heard on both sides, the jury advised together, and declared their verdict to be that Lucas 'died a natural death by the visitation of God.' This declaration, as may be supposed, did not satisfy Justice Bear, whose malice towards the persecuted minister was relentless. He accordingly, in his ignorant and barbarous execution of the office he was charged with, issued his warrant to apprehend him. The persons to whom this was entrusted made it another pretext to disturb and abuse whomever they chose to suspect of secreting the object of their search. One Sunday morning they left Kingsbridge with the purpose of ransacking the country ; they came first to West Alvington, and so on to Milton, South Huish, and Salcombe. After having searched about thirty houses they came home at last disappointed. 'How unwearied and implacable is malice ; how sweet is revenge !'

"When the Assizes began at Exeter the persons spoken of before made their appearance, according to their recognizances. After a long discussion with the grand jury there was a bill found against them, although it was strongly opposed by some of them.

The cause assigned for this unadvised accusation from the grand jury was that they were very partially selected from the list by the under sheriff, in direct opposition to the strict charge sent with it by the

high sheriff, Sir John Davy, who had pointed out persons of honour and judgment to execute the office. The prisoners being put to the bar pleaded not guilty, whereon their trial began, and witnesses for the prosecution were called in. Justice Bear was the first evidence against the prisoners. So much has been said of this character already that it is needless to follow him through all his machinations. We have only to regret that so far we can find no one good quality belonging to him. Walter Campion was next called on, a fellow notorious for his perjury, and who duly deserves a precedency to all knights of the post. Thomas Ford, whose name has been mentioned already, deposed much to the same effect as Bear and Campion, and with just as little truth and grace to himself. In addition to the injury the defendants suffered from these impious characters, it was observed that the judge himself was prejudiced before he came into court by malicious insinuations from a certain quarter. He gave a too partial hearing to the accusing party, whilst the witnesses of the defendants were discouraged and perplexed with ambiguous questions. Mr. Bastard and the coroner each of them gave evidence in favour of the defendants.

"The judge in summing up the evidence reminded the jury of everything that was charged against the prisoners, but omitted the most material points that made for their defence. But the jury were not to be tampered with; they returned their verdict of not guilty. It appears the prosecutors were much confounded with this decision, and their real motives and disposition were now too glaring to be misunderstood. George Bear expended his rage in his usual coarse language, indeed of too low a description to be repeated here; and the widow of Lucas was disappointed in her expectation of obtaining a large sum

of money if the prisoners were condemned, as she said on returning home that 'rather than be hanged they would give her a good part of their property.' This is just the reflection that might come from an ignorant, unprincipled and unfeeling woman. Did she think that the long-established and impartial law of the land could be swerved from its upright course to suit her selfish and stupid ideas of it? But it is useless to speak of the impartiality of our constitution in relation of any of the forementioned party. Certainly a more despicable spirit never infested any age or neighbourhood than they were possessed with."

Mr. Hicks is said to have had an interview with Charles II., which to some extent caused the issue of the Indulgence of 1672 by this monarch. He afterwards removed to Portsmouth, and continued there till driven out. He joined the Duke of Monmouth in 1685 and suffered death for treason.

HILL JOHN, M.A., EXETER.

Ejected from North Molton, Devon. *The Joint Testimony of the Ministers of Devon*, 1648, contains the name of John Hill, minister of North Molton.

HODDER JOHN, OWN HOUSE, THORNCOMBE.

Ejected from Hankchurch rectory, Dorset. He was a strong loyalist and wrote an epistle before a sermon of Mr. Ames Short on the proclamation of King Charles II.

HOMES JOHN, HOUSE OF THOMAS PARSON, TOPSHAM.
HOOPER, RICHARD, OWN HOUSE, BAMPTON, (ANABAPTIST).
HOPPIN JOHN, B.D., CHRISTOW.

Ejected from a fellowship at Exeter College,

Oxford. Imprisoned for six months at Exeter, where he contracted so severe a rheumatism that he remained a cripple to his death and had to be carried in a chair to the pulpit where he preached. He died March 4th, 1705. Murch's *History of the Presbyterians*, 1835, mentions John Hoppin as one of the ministers of Bow Meeting, Exeter, 1662-1704.

HUGHES OBADIAH, PLYMOUTH,

was the son of George Hughes, an eminent Puritan divine and writer who was minister at Tavistock, then vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, was ejected, imprisoned, and then allowed to settle in Kingsbridge, where he died; in the church there a monument to his memory is still to be seen. The son, Obadiah, was in 1662 ejected from his student's place in Christ Church, Oxford, just as he was ready to take his degree of M.A. He then came to Plymouth, and on October 6th, 1665, was imprisoned with his father for nonconformity. He was released on giving security that he would leave the town. March 9th, 1670, he was privately ordained, and preached for some time about Plymouth. Taking out a licence in 1672 he remained in Plymouth till April 1674, when he became pastor of a congregation in London. Once he was imprisoned in New Prison, and had to appear at the sessions and give security. He was afterwards at Enfield, and died January 24th, 1704.

HUNT EDWARD, EXETER.

Ejected from the rectory of Dun-chideock. He removed to Exeter, and ultimately died minister of a congregation at South Molton. He appears to have been a member of the family of William Hunt, mercer, of South Molton, who in 1642 gave for the poor £100, the churchwardens and overseers of

the poor to lend the same at interest. Edward Hunt was licensed with Digory Cole, Andrew Kent, Humphrey Tibbles, and Robert Square, as preachers.

HUTCHINSON EDWARD, SAMUEL PIERCE, EXETER.
HUTCHINSON EDWARD, OWN HOUSE, BISHOPSCLIFFE.
JACOB NATHAN, OWN HOUSE, UGBOROUGH.

Ejected from the living at Ugborough. Once he suffered six months' imprisonment at Exeter. He rode to Plymouth once a fortnight and conducted services, eventually becoming a permanent pastor there.

JELLINGER CHRISTOPHER, M.A., MARLDON.

The Joint Testimony of the Ministers of Devon, 1648, contains the name of Christopher Jellinger, minister of Brent. He was ejected from the living of South Brent.

In the early years of the seventeenth century was born in the Palatinate, "within a mile of that great imperial city, Worms," Christopher Jelingen, or Jelinger. He suffered much persecution in consequence of the Puritan views he held. He had joined the Calvinists' colony at Geneva, "being fled thither after he was persecuted from the famous University of Heydelberg by the bloddie Papists for Religions sake." From Geneva, where he was a student in divinity, and a preacher, he was called by that famous minister of Christ, Mr. White of Dorchester. Among his early patrons were the great Duke of Albemarle, John Lord Robartes, afterwards Earl of Radnor, John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester.

Soon after he came to England he went to Exeter, where in a dedicatory letter to the mayor he writes: "Your Citie did not only entertain me but also

maintained me, till I had learned your language and could preach therein, whereas before I could preach in Dutch and French." Bishop Hall, the Puritan bishop of Exeter, preached a sermon on his behalf, and a collection was made for him. In the accounts of the corporation of Totnes is the entry made under date 1628-9 "paid to Mr. Jellinger —a Jermayne, 10s." This must have been about the time he came to England. Early in 1631 he obtained a licence to marry Agnes Hayne of West Allington, Kingsbridge, widow. In 1640 he was minister of God's Word in Stonehouse, Devon, and was on very friendly terms with George Hughes.

John Gandy, the vicar of South Brent, was sequestered in 1646-7, and a petition was presented to Parliament desiring that Jellinger might be appointed. This was done, and he remained there 17 years, giving at the same time his lectures on divinity at Plymouth, Plympton, and Kingsbridge. He was ejected on the return of Charles II. He then retired to Marldon, a village between Torquay and Totnes; leaving Marldon he settled at Kingsbridge. He died in 1685, and the entry of his burial in Kingsbridge registers reads in this wise: "Master Gillinger, A Minnester, was buried the 22nd of September in the yeare of ourr Lord God one thousand six hundred and eighty five."

He wrote several theological works, viz: *The Excellency of Christ or The Rose of Sharon*, 1641, dedicated to the mayor, &c., of Plymouth; *Christ and His Saints*, 1656, dedicated to the mayor, &c., of Plimpton; *A Cluster of Sweetest Grapes*, 1664, dedicated to the worshipful Thomas Reynel, Esq.; *A New and Heavenly Canaan*, 1664, dedicated to Prince Rupert, Sir P. Leere, Commissioner for Foreign Plantations, Allen Penring, mayor and magistrates of Exeter, Anthony Reeve, mayor and magistrates of Totnes, and Lady Anne Seymour,

the wife of Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry Pomeroy, Totnes ; *Heaven won by Violence, together with a New and Living Way of Dying*, 1665, dedicated to the right worshipful Anthony Reeve, the mayor and his brethren the magistrates and to all the inhabitants of the populous town of Totnes—(Reeve must have been a misprint, as the mayor of Totnes, 1664-5, was Anthony Goodridge, and no Reeve appears among the list of mayors, which is complete, and there is no Anthony but Goodridge) ; *The Resolution Table*, 1676 ; *Three Treatises*, 1676 ; *Godliness Epitomised*, 1680 ; *Usury Stated Overthrown.* Prince, the learned author of *The Worthies of Devon*, mentions him as " one Jollinger a German ; who, although he had a smattering of learning, yet his outlandish tone and his own indiscretions together rendered his person and performances ridiculous to the whole congregation." (Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, 1810 Edition, p. 399.) It is to be feared that Prince was prejudiced against him because he was a Nonconformist, for Jellinger's works give evidence of his learning (*Trans: Devonshire Association*, Vol XXXII., 1900).

Edward Windeatt.

Dr. Thomas Gibbons' Diary

THIS diary is in a large half-bound volume, folio size, and occupies 494 pages. On the fly-leaf are the words "The Diary of Dr. Thomas Gibbons, 1749 to 1785." The next leaf bears the inscription in larger text-hand, "From Novr. 29, 1749 to Feby. 17, 1785, The Day the Dear Author was struck with the Palsy."

Then follows this memorandum: "Thomas Gibbons, son of the Rev. Thomas Gibbons, D.D., Married the Aunt of my neigbour, Mrs. Hodges, Richardson St., Boro'. On the demise of Mr. T. Gibbons, his father's (Dr. Gibbons') library and MSS. came into Mrs. Hodge's hand, from whom I obtained, for Mr. Upcott, this original Diary in his own hand, by Rev. Thomas Gibbons, D.D.—(Signed) J. Mann, Pastor of ye Bapt. Church, in Maze Pond, Borough. London, May 9th, 1827."

Then come the words, "It was purchased from Mr. Upcott by its present owner. (Signed) Joshua Wilson."

The next entry, which has been partly defaced, must be of earlier date than the last given. It runs, "It is my particular request that this interesting Manuscript should eventually be placed in the Congregational Library, recently formed in Blomfield Street, Finsbury. (Signed) William Upcott, London Institution, January 3, 1832."

Finally, the stamp bears the words, "Congregational Library. Presented by Mrs. Wilson of Tunbridge Wells, from the Library of the late Joshua Wilson, Esq., 1876."

The history of the MS. since Dr. Gibbons' death is thus complete.

The first few days' entries include some copious extracts from Bishop Hopkins *On the Vanity of the World*, and under the earliest date (Nov. 29th, 1749), there are some original lines *On the Death of Miss Margaret Cook, daughter of Thomas Cook, Esq., at Stoke Newington.* But the writer did not long continue to combine a common-place book with his diary, and quotations are not given from any other book besides that of Bishop Hopkins. There is, however, under date of April 14th, 1751, a hymn, apparently of Mr. Gibbons' composition, which he mentions as having been sung during the afternoon service on that day. It consists of six common metre verses, and is entitled *The Sinner's Security.* Another, *To God the Preserver*, is given under May 17th of the same year.

In the earlier entries the number of hours "improved," or spent in study (and apparently in devotion) each day is carefully recorded. But after a while Mr. Gibbons contents himself with estimating the number of hours "improved" in his "review" of each week. He seems to have considered from 25 to 30 hours a fair proportion in the week. On the other hand, if he had thus employed less than twenty hours, there is generally some expression of regret, and sometimes of self-reproach.

A large number of the entries, as might be expected, refer to the ordinary routine of ministerial work—Sunday services, the texts of the sermons being given, burials, baptisms, week-day services, and pastoral visits. Monday and, at a later date, Wednesday, appear as "visiting day," shortened after a time to V.D. This must have been a sort of At Home, as on those days he speaks of receiving company. The number of

visits recorded is never very large. If the good man writes "no less than seven letters" in one day he records it as matter for surprise, as no doubt it was in those days of dear postage.

A frequent entry during the winter months is "Met the young men in the evening." This refers to a meeting which Mr. Gibbons was accustomed to hold for the young men of his church and congregation. Another constant entry, "Met the Gentlemen," seems to refer to what we should call the church meeting, from which the ladies were apparently excluded, at Haberdashers' Hall, or it may have been the church committee.

Other very frequent entries are "Catechised," "Met the ministers," "Heard my colleague at the evening exercise," and "Visited the Bartholomew-close School."

One entry towards the close of 1749 is of special interest:—

> Wed. Dec. 13. Visited Mrs. Cromwel in her new habitation. May the Father of the Fatherless, and the Husband of the Widow, bless her home.

This lady was apparently Mary Cromwell, widow of Thomas the seventh son of Major Henry Cromwell, whose father Henry was the favourite son of the great Protector. Mr. J. Waylen, in his *House of Cromwell* (page 61), says that it is uncertain whether Thomas Cromwell died in 1748 or 1752. If the present entry is rightly interpreted it is decisive for the earlier date. Mrs. Cromwell lived to the great age of 104, and died Jan. 29th, 1813.

Coming now to the year 1750 the following entries are of interest:—

> Wed Jan. 3. Visited Mr. Whitefield in the morning.
>
> Fri Jan. 12. This morning, about 5 o'clock, the venerable Lady Abney had a dismission, soft and gentle, from the Bonds of Clay, and ascended up to the Regions of eternal Rest, as there is the utmost Reason to conclude from the bright Tract of Piety that shines after. I am losing one and

another Friend. May I be secure of an unchangeable & all-sufficient Friend, my God and Saviour.

This Lady Abney was the well-known friend and patroness of Dr. Isaac Watts, whose "thirty years' visit" to her family had come to an end just over a year before her decease, by his death in December, 1748.

On Monday, Jan. 15th, there is a shorthand note to which is appended by another hand (in pencil), "See Whitefield's Letters, ii. 318." On the 19th Mr. Gibbons goes to Newington, where he remains till the 27th. On Sunday, the 21st, he preaches to the Abney household twice, his texts being "Life is yours" (1 Cor. iii. 22), and "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." On Thursday, the 25th, he attends Lady Abney's funeral, and on Sunday, the 28th, he preaches a funeral sermon for her at Haberdashers' Hall, on the words "Whose faith follow."

Fri. Feb. 2. Mr. Taverner & Mr. Willats were chosen deacons. I delivered a discourse on the occasion.

Thur. 8. Mem. This day, as I was sitting in my study with a Vollume of Mr. Baxter's before me, I felt a violent Concussion of the House, as if it would have tumbled instantly about my Head. The Motion was heavy, and universal; something so unusual that I immediately conjectured it, as I find it is generally believed, to be an Earthquake. How kind was that God who put forth his power so far, that he put it forth no further; had this been the case the whole City would have soon become a Sepulchre of it self, & of its inhabitants. I find the shock was felt throughout the Cities of London and Westminster, & many Proofs I have since learnt of its Violence and Terror. May it be sanctified to the Reformation of a dissolute & thoughtless Age, however as to my Self may I hence be excited to be more diligent in my Preparation for Death, that whether I meet it in a popular Ruin, or in a personal Disease, I may be ready to resign to its stroke, and be received into the everlasting Habitations.

A few days later his eldest boy is ill of the measles, and is "blooded" by the doctor. There are frequent references to illness in the family.

Mr. Gibbons himself appears to have had very poor health at this period of his life, and was frequently laid aside for several days at a time, "headache," "colds," and "feverish disorders," being the most frequent causes. A little later the good man was a sufferer from hernia, and possibly some of the many shorthand notes may refer to his "often infirmities." In after years, however, his work seems to have been much less often interrupted by bad health.

> Fri. Feb. 16. Heard the melancholy news of the Death of the Revd. Mr. Mordecai Andrews, an excellent and useful Minister, and a great loss to the Church of Christ.

An attack of "feverish disorder" follows, and another little one has the measles, and is "blooded at the crisis." After their recovery there is a long meditation on the spiritual uses of affliction. These devotional aspirations are very numerous in the earlier part of the diary, but become much less so in the later years, when the entries are more curt and business-like.

> Tu. Feb. 27. Attended an extraordinary meeting of the Fund.
>
> Thur. Mar. 8. Awakened this morning in a shock of an Earthquake, but not till Part of it was over, though soon enough to find my windows, &c., clattering about me. I find that it is thought to be severer than that a month since. How awful are those Monitions of the Divine Anger. Lord, may I be safe in that Day when thou shalt send Death to me, whether in a Personal Disease or in a popular Destruction.
>
> Thur. 15. Exercised at the Monthly Meeting of Prayer at Mr. Towle's. Heard a very good sermon from Mr. Price, from Heb. 12. 28. Discoursed in the evening agt. the notion that we are not to regard God in the late awful events because of natural causes.

There are many allusions to these two shocks of earthquake in contemporary writings. The panic they created was intensified by predictions of wider destruction, and was so great that many encamped in the parks, being afraid to continue in their houses. Mr. Price's text was certainly a very

appropriate one, being the passage referring to "a kingdom which cannot be moved;" and Mr. Gibbons himself, besides the discourse just referred to, preached on the 8th on the conversion of the Philippian jailor, and on the 18th from the words "Prepare to meet thy God."

Sat. 24. I have, I believe, employed myself in preaching too much, and studying too little. My weekly exercise, together with double preparation for the Lord's day, demand much of my time. My Constitution is but weak; many a day do I lose, or almost lose, through the Feebleness of Nature. I have therefore declined my Lecture on a Thursday Night, though a Lecture exceeding well attended, and a Lecture that I trust hath been made profitable to several souls.

Mon, Apr. 2. Breakfasted with Mr. Whitefield.

Mon., Apr. 16. Preached the Charity Sermon at Shakespeare Walk; Psa. 103, 2, Bless the Lord, &c. Dined with the Society. Wed. 18. Spent the day at Hornsey Wood with Mr. Furneaux, Mr. Savage, & Mr. Price. The business surveying over my Poems about going to Press.

These poems appear to have been dedicated to Lady Huntingdon.

Mon. Apr. 23. Heard a discourse at the Tabernacle. Visited Mr. Whitefield.

Thur. May 3. Heard a sermon from Mr. Whitefield at his Tabernacle.

There is a good number of references to sermons and "exercises" by various preachers, notably Dr. Guise, whose name, with that of Mr. Price, often appears in this part of the diary.

Wed. May 23. Went from Royston to Stanstead Mountfiggit (Mountfitchet). Gave the Charge at ye setting apart of Mr. Impey. Mr. Angus preached to the people from 2 Cor. 4. 7, But we have this Treasure, &c. Went in the Evening to Bishop-Stortford.

Wed. June 13. Attended the meeting of the Bartholomew-Close managers.

Thur. June 28. Called upon Miss Richmond Gardiner, Daughter of the late Col. Gardiner.

Mon. July 2. Attended the Passing the Trials of Mr. Hickman, Student with Dr. Jennings.

Sat. July 21. Visited Miss Otby and Miss Ann Cromwell in illness at Islington.

Anne Cromwell, afterwards Mrs. Field, was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Cromwell by his first wife Frances, and therefore was the stepdaughter of the Mary Cromwell before referred to.

On August 14th he sets out on a journey into the Midlands. He visits Dr. Clarke at St. Alban's, and sleeps that night at Dunstable and the next at Northampton. On the 16th he spends three hours with "the ingenious and pious Mr. James Hervey, Author of the *Meditations*, &c." (at Weston Favel ?). He stays that night at Leicester, and the next night at Lady Huntingdon's seat near Ashby. On Sunday, the 18th, he preaches at Mr. Caleb Ashworth's at Daventry, and, after visiting Coventry and Warwick, reaches Birmingham. Then we read:—

> Thur. Aug. 23. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Wylde at Birmingham. Dr. Guise preached and Dr. Jennings gave the Charge.

Returning through Northampton, Olney, and Bedford, the traveller reaches London on the 30th, and on Sunday, Sept. 2nd, preaches a sermon "founded on his journey" from Psa. 39, 12, "For I am a sojourner with thee."

> Mon. Sept. 17. Met the Church to consider whether we should let Mr. Pike have the Meeting for his Lecture. Carried in the affirmative.
>
> Wed. Sept. 19. Visited . . . . Mrs. Vallet in Bedlam.
>
> Tu. Sept. 25. Dined with Mr. Nicklin. Examined the Bartholomew Close School with him.
>
> Wed. Oct. 3. Saw the Prisoners go from Newgate to Execution. Maclean and Smith, Persons of good Education, and the latter an ingenious man. How dismal the spectacle! What thanks to Heaven for restraining Grace are due from me, an unworthy, sinful creature.
>
> Mon. Oct. 29. Supped at the Lord Mayor's Feast.
>
> Thur. Nov. 15. Visited Mr. Alexander, the Sheriff of the City, on a particular affair.
>
> Wed. Nov. 21. Met the Society lately set up for distributing Bibles, &c. [This is often mentioned afterwards as "the Society for the Promotion of Religious Knowledge."]
>
> Thur. Nov. 22. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Hitchin to the

Church lately under the Care of the Revd. Mr. Mord: Andrews, Deceased. Dined with the Company.

Tu. Nov. 27. Visited by Desire an unhappy man, Mr. Joshua West, confined in the Poultry Compter for defrauding the Bank. Spent half an hour with Mr. Williams of Kidderminster.

Wed. Dec. 5. Preached in the morning a Charity Sermon for the Bartholomew Close School, from Matt. 14, 44.

On the 10th Mr. West had been removed from the Compter to Newgate. The diarist paid almost daily visits to him and Mr. Baker, one of his fellow-prisoners, up till the end of the year. On Dec. 20th, "the Dead Warrant was signed for Mr. Baker, & West, with 14 other malefactors." On December 29th, Mr. Gibbons "took a mournful leave" of Baker (of whose case he afterwards drew up an account), but West received a month's reprieve on December 28th. He was "still in Uncertainty as to Life" on Jan. 16th, but his ultimate fate does not appear, though he seems to have been alive on Feb. 15th.

1751. Wed. Jan. 9. Began Catechising in my own place.

Mon. Jan. 21. A great crowd at my House to see the Fireworks in the Evening, played off on account of the Prince's Birthday in the Artillery-ground.

Wed. Feb. 6. Attended by his desire Mr. Parsons in Newgate. [Three other visits to him follow].

Thur. Feb. 7. Attended the trials of Mr. Noyes.

Sun. Feb. 10. Coll; for Fund. £66—£51 M., £15 Aft.

Tu. Feb. 12. Visited the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mon. Mar. 4. Went in the evening with my Wife & Children to some new Lodgings at Hoxton. [They seem to have stayed there about five weeks, during which he pays them frequent visits.]

Sun. Mar. 24. Preached in the Morning from Eccl: 7. 14, In the Day of Adversity consider. On occasion of the Death of the Prince of Wales, who died Wed: 20 Instant.

Mon. Mar. 25. Attended the Trials of Mr. Philips at Plaisterers' Hall.

A sharp attack of a "feverish disorder" now lays the diarist aside for nearly a week. At its close he makes a long entry of regrets for the past and

resolutions for the future, covering more than a page of the diary. One passage is very pathetic :—

> My Illness began on Tuesday, the 16th ; at least this was the Day when I felt the Attack of Illness in a Degree of Violence. Can I forget how solitarily and sadly I spent part of the Tuesday Evening under great Indisposition of Body, and in the awful Apprehensions of the Calamities that might be at the Door. My Children innocently sporting about me filled my Spirit with Anguish, as I knew not but they might be soon stript of their Father, though the great God knows but a poor one, and might be left in Poverty and Affliction in a sinful and an unkind World. My Partner of Life also, that might perhaps soon know by experience the bitter Name of Widdow, added to my Burden of Distress. Nor was my Mind free from Anxiety in the views of that mighty Change I might soon undergo in passing out of Time into Eternity, and possibly into an Eternity of Misery and Despair. With these Thoughts my Soul was greatly oppressed, and one Hour of the above-mentioned Evening methinks was as uncomfortable and wretched as most I ever knew. But the cloud is now removed, for the present at least from my Tent, and the Return of Health has dissipated these Terrors.

In May he spends a week in a journey on horseback, travelling as far as Cambridge, and visiting friends and relatives, and "the Seat of the Lord Godolphin's on Hogmagog Hills." He returns to London on the 16th, safe and well in spite of "violent Showers," and composes the poem *To God the Preserver*, before alluded to. He mentions an interesting conversation with a young man whom he met on the road between Hadham and Bishop's Stortford, who received his advances very willingly, though he acknowledged that he was "sometimes addicted to drunkenness."

> Tu. May 28. Dined at Hampstead. Called at Mr. Richd: Cromwel's.

This was Richard Cromwell, great-grandson of the Lord Protector, and brother of the Thomas Cromwell whose widow and daughter have been before referred to. He was an eminent solicitor.

May 31st was Mr. Gibbons' birthday, and is

generally marked in this part of the diary by devotional aspirations and resolves.

Aug. Frid. 9. Attended the Trials of Mr. Spencer at Dr. Marryat's.

Sat. 24. Heard Mr. Whitefield at the Tabernacle in the Evening.

From Sept. 3rd to Oct. 3rd the writer of the diary was on a holiday with his family, visiting Royston, Northampton, &c. There are two entries of interest. On Sept. 16th we read "at Sturbitch Fair." This was the great fair of Stourbridge (near Cambridge), which Dr. Brown has suggested as the possible original of the "Vanity Fair" of John Bunyan. And four days later we read of the baptism of a child who may have been a descendant of the great dreamer himself.

Sept. Frid. 20. At Northampton. Baptized Susanna, Daughter of Mr. Bunyan of Eaton.

On Oct. 15th he rides out, and spends two or three hours with the Rev. Mr. Hervey at Tottenham. On Sunday, the 20th, he preaches in the afternoon from Psa. ci., 1, "on the occasion of the death of the Prince of Orange" (husband of the Princess Anne, the daughter of George II). Soon after death enters his own household, and on Nov. 18th his little boy, Nathanael Shuttlewood, three years old, dies "after a day of terrible Convulsions, the Small-pox lying in great numbers in the Skin, but never coming out kindly." Deeply wounded by the death of this "most desirable child," he is further tried on the 21st by the fear that another child is sickening with the same disease, though it turns out to be whooping cough; and on the same day receives the news of the dangerous illness of his father. He compares his lot with that of Job, but blesses God that he was able to get through his work on the following Sunday "pretty comfortably." A brother minister took the morning service, but in the afternoon the bereaved father preached from the words of David

on the loss of his child, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

1751. Dec. Tuesd. 3. Wrote a Letter to Mr. Humphreys of Bradford near Bath, on the News of his Conformity to the Church of England.

Thursd. 26. By the desire of Miss Thompson, a Member of my Church, just come of age, some time was spent in Prayer this Morning at my House on her Account. Mr. Waller's [? Messrs. Waller] Mr. Pitts, & Self engaged. Afterwards dined together, and spent the greatest part of the Afternoon in Company.

1752. January. Lord's Day. 5. Gave away to my People a Pastoral Letter.

Mond. 18. Attended the Examination of the Fund Students under Dr. Marryat. Dined with the Ministers & Gentlemen assembled on that occasion.

March. Wed. 4. Attended the Meeting for the Ministers' Widdows and Orphans.

Frid. 13. Went with the Revd. Mr. Hall and the Revd. Mr. Richardson to Stratford, to meet the Corpse of Mrs. Cromwel, late wife of Mr. Willm. Cromwel. Attended the Funeral at Bunhill. Spent the Evening with Mr. Cromwel.

Lord's Day. 15. In the Afternoon preached from 1 Thes. 4. 18, suited to the decease of Mrs. Cromwel.

Mond. 16. Attended at Plaisterers' Hall the Trials of Mr. Fisher & Mr. Tabor.

April. Tuesd. 14. Attended the General Body of Dissenting Ministers.

The concerts of prayer, a specimen of which was noticeable in the case of Miss Thompson, are often referred to in this part of the diary. One was on behalf of Mrs. Gibbons. A few weeks before, on April 22nd, she gave birth to another little boy, named Samuel, whom the father looked upon as given in the room of his lost Nathanael.

In May he goes several times to see a youthful cousin, Thomas Green, who was ill of small-pox at "Endfield," and who died on the 26th. With that robust disregard of infection so characteristic of the time, we find him going straight from this small-pox patient to dine with Lady Collett at Ponder's End. This lady was an aunt of Mrs. Mary Cromwell, and was the leading supporter of the

old Nonconformist cause in that village; and Dr. Gibbons was a constant visitor at her house there.

Little Samuel is baptized on May 31st, his father's birthday, and his father reviews the experiences of the year and expresses his desire for the future at great length on this occasion.

June. Mond. 1. Met the Fund-Committee upon the Welsh Academy.

All through this spring there are constant complaints of ill health, and in June a severe sore throat not only seems to have brought the diarist very low physically, but to have had a most depressing effect upon his spirits. He even goes so far as to compose his epitaph, in the belief of his probable approaching dissolution :—

Here lies the Body of Thomas Gibbons, Minister of the Gospel, who after a Life of various Disorder of Body with some Intervals of Health, and of various Distempers of Soul with some good Signs of a Divine Cure begun in himself, & by his feeble Endeavours effected & promoted among others, resigned his Body to the Dust in Hopes of a joyful Resurrection, & his Soul to the Father of Spirits in Hopes of an Admission into his eternal Glory, depending for both these inestimable Blessings upon Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the CHIEF of Sinners.

Reader, if thou has ever heard me,
Hear me now;
If thou hast been my Auditor,
Regard my last Advice,
& let me speak once more.

DEATH, JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, or HELL, are before thee. Each is immensely interesting to thee; the Connection is sure; and DEATH, that leads the Van, may this Night require thy Soul of thee; adjourn not, therefore the Concern of thy Salvation to an uncertain Hereafter.

He quickly recovers, however, and spends the very first day he is able to get out of doors "in travelling about from Place to Place to do a very important Act of Kindness to a Family of my Church." During June and July he undertakes three journeys; the first to Cambridge, the second

to his father's house at Royston, and the third and longest to Oxford, Witney, and Cheltenham. During the course of this last he visits the academic buildings at Oxford, and the palace at Blenheim; goes "a fishing" at Ducklington, and preaches on two consecutive Sundays for Mr. Blake, the minister at Witney, returning to London on the last day of July. Meanwhile his family were staying at Ponder's End. Here he visits them almost daily till their return to London on Sept. 25th. It is evident that the diary was not always posted up daily, for one entry runs, "Went, I suppose, to Ponder's End;" and this is not the only one of the kind.

August. Mond. 17. Went to Uxbridge to see my Brother. Spent part of the Evening at Mrs. Collins.

Tuesd. 18. Dined at Mrs. Collins, to whose Daughter my Brother is making his addresses, and came to London in the evening.

Wednesday, Sept. 2nd, is immediately followed by Thursday, the 14th, with the memorandum, "Change of Stile this Year."

September. Frid. 15. Visited Mrs. Foster, Grand-daughter of the famous Mr. Milton.

Wed. 20. At Cheshunt at the Meeting of the Hertfordshire Ministers.

Frid. 29. My Brother Joseph cam with a Message early this morning that my Sister Ann, abt. 17 years of Age, died yesterday of a fever. Went to Royston.

Octr. Tuesda. 3. Preached together with Mr. Atkins my Bro.-in-Law upon the Account of my Sister's Death to a numerous and attentive Auditory. I hope it was not a lost Season either to the Family or the Congregation. Mr. Atkins' Text was 1 Thes. 4. 18, and mine 1 Cor. 3. 22, Death is yours.

Thursd. 12. Mr. Lleullin & my self began a weekly Conference.

Tuesd. 17. Met the Committee of the Dissenters at Dr.

Mond. 23. [An "extraordinary meeting of the church" to deal with a case of discipline].

Nov. Tuesd. 14. Went with my Father to Walden.

Wed. 15. Gave the Charge at the Ordination of my Bro: Mr. Atkins. Mr. Davison opened ye Work of the Day. Mr. Kemp prayed. My Father preached. Mr. Cornel of

Woodbridge prayed. I gave the Charge. Mr. Cornel of Colchester prayed. And Mr. Atkins concluded.

Dec. Wed. 6. Spent some time in prayer at Mrs. Cromwell's upon the account of the dangerous Illness of her Son.

Decr. 25. Went to St. James, and saw great Part of the Royal Family, particularly the King & the Prince of Wales. What Thanks are due to God for a Protestant King and a Protestant Succession!

During this year he mentions having read Preston on *Mortification*, Burch's *Life of Tillotson*, Howe on *Self-dedication*, Tillotson's sermons, Voltaire's *Life of Louis XIV.*, and Bishop Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher.*

1753. Jany. Mond. 29. Attended the Examination of the Students at Dr. Marryat's Academy.

Feby. Mond. 12. Met my Brother Edward at Doctors' Commons, & performed the Part of Father at his Marriage with Mrs. Bethiah Collier of Uxbridge.

Lord's Day 18. Collected for the Fund, in the Morning, £56, in the Afternoon £22. In all £78 within one Shilling.

These collections were taken yearly, and generally realised £60 or £70, the much larger amount collected in the morning being always noticeable.

March. Mond. 12. At Uxbridge. Visited & prayed with one Mrs. Reynolds, a woman of 101 Years, & baptized by Mr. Richd. Baxter at Kederminster. Her Conversation very serious, and though poor, she is full of Thankfulness for the Divine Mercies.

Tuesd. 27. Met the Committee & the Ministers at the Coffee-House.

This is a frequent entry. The "Amsterdam Coffee-House" seems to have been the favourite place of ministerial resort. But the "New York" and "Cole's" are also mentioned. The latter seems to have been the favourite resort of the "Congregational brethren."

Owing to the change of style he henceforth observes his birthday on June 11th, instead of May 31st.

July. Lord's day 22. Visited Mrs. Cromwell on the death of her daughter Elizabeth.

Wed., Aug. 1. Met the Brethren of the Church at Canbury House, & dined there. Came Home in the Evening.

This seems to have become a pleasant annual reunion. The name is variously spelt, "Canbury," "Cambray," and "Canonbury," but it was evidently the well known place of the latter name at Islington.

Aug. Wed. 8. Set out early this Morning for Uxbridge. Attended the Ordination of my Bro. Edward. Mr. Denham ordained, Mr. Pope preached, & Mr. Mason gave the Charge. Messrs. Smithson, Atkins, & self prayed.

Lord's Day. 19. [At Northampton.] Heard a young Minister of Mr. Ashworth's Academy in the Morning. Heard Mr. Gilbert in the Afternoon. Preached in the Evening. from 2 Cor. 3. 18. Supped with Mrs. Doddridge.

Mond. 20. Visited Mr. Hervey at Weston Favell.

Sept. Wed. 12. Went to [Saffron] Walden to the Association of Ministers. Mr. Angus & self preached. My Text in Phil. 2. 18.

From Oct. 11th to the 25th he was laid aside from work by order of his medical adviser, Dr. Nesbitt, having been attacked while preaching on the former date with "great weakness, terror, and confusion," and sunk in "glooms and distress." Horse exercise, change of air, and cold bathing seem to have had a beneficial effect, and we do not read of any return of the attack.

Decr. Tuesd. 25. Went to see the King.

Wed. 26. Visited Mr. Tennent, & Mr. Davies, just arrived, the first from Philadelphia, the latter from Virginia.

Among books read this year he mentions Leland's *Answer to Bolingbroke*, Howe's *Delighting in God*, and Young's *Night Thoughts*. The two American brethren just referred to preached for him on January 13th, 1754, when he remarks, "They appear to be very worthy excellent men;" and on the 15th he meets them and Whitefield at a Mr. Jones's, where he dines and spends the evening.

1754. February. Lord's Day 3. The Revd. Mr. Gilbert Tennent of Philadelphia preached in the Afternoon.

April. Tuesd. 2. Removed with my Family this Day from my House at Number 2 in Bunhill-Row to Hoxton Square, after 9 years & 3 quarters Renting the House in Bunhill-Row. Lord, I humbly thank thee for the many mercies of

my Life, & especially of the above Period. May not the Sins of my former Habitation meet me in Punishment where I now dwell!

Tuesd. 2. Attended the Funeral of Mrs. Ann Clarke, the daughter of the Revd. Mr. Clarke, Author of the Annotations, & the Lives of Considerable Men. She died aged 88 years.

After the ascription to Mr. Clarke of the authorship of the two books another hand has written in pencil "not of both." (The latter was written by his father.) The identity of the divine referred to is made clear by the following entry :—

Lord's Day. 14. Preached in the Morning from Hos. 14. 2. In the Afternoon from 1 Pet. 4. 18, on the Account of the Death of Mrs. Ann Clarke, Daughter of the Revd. Saml. Clarke, an ejected Minister, & Author of Annotations on the Bible.

Thursd. 25. Set apart the Morning of this Day for Prayer & Exhortation on Account of our Removal to a new Habitation.

Frid. 26. Gave up great Part of this Day to Mr. Davies in soliciting Charity for his Errand into Great-Britain, to wit, that of founding a College in the New-Jerseys. Collected this Day 7 Guineas & Half. Collected for him in all about 40 Guineas from our Church & Congregation.

May. Tuesd. 21. Attended Pinners'-Hall. Met the Deputation from the Fund, viz: Dr. Guyse, Mr. Bradbury, Mr. King, & Mr. Hall, who were in Commission to notify the Choice of the 13th Instant of the Revd. Mr. Conder for the Province of Divinity, & Mr. Walker & my self, to have a share, according to what we should agree upon, in the Work of Academical Tuition.

Wed. 22. Met the Deputation from the Society, viz:, Dr. Guyse, Mr. Hall, Mr. Brewer, Mr. Will. Fuller, Mr. Wealthdale, & Mr. Eade, who were appointed to notify to the same Purpose as above the Choice of the King's Head Society of the same persons, on Tuesday the 14th Inst. Each of us delivered in, according to what we had settled among ourselves, a List of the Branches of Tuition we intended to undertake in Case we complied with the Request of the two Bodies.

My List stood as follows :—

Logick	Ethics	Stile in gener:
Metaphysics	Rhetorick	Pulpit Stile.

N.B. The choice of my Self was in both Bodies very unanimous; the like was Mr. Walker's Case. The Society quite so as to Mr. Conder, & the Fund generally.

June. Sat. 1. Went to Newgate, & discoursed with Eliz. Canning, of whom there has been such various Talk, &

jarring Opinions, but of whom I have Reason to think that she is an innocent and injured Person.

This case was the great sensation of the day. The girl Canning had accounted for her mysterious disappearance by a story of having been kidnapped; for which a gipsy woman was sentenced to death. She was found guilty of perjury, and awarded seven years' transportation.

Sat. 15 [at Royston]. Spent some Time in preparing Mr. Pearsall's Contemplations for the Press.

Frid. 21 & Sat. 22. [at Royston]. Made the rough Draughts of the Letters to the Fund & King's Head Society, concerning my Acceptance of a Share in Tuition.

July. Mond. 29. Met some Ministers, & engaged in Prayer at Mrs. Abney's, she being on the Point of a Journey.

August. Frid. 2. Met some Gentlemen of the King's Head Society in the Evening. Every Thing is settled as to the Tuition. Now for Strength of Body and Soul comfortably and usefully to perform the Work devolved upon me! May thy Grace, O God, be sufficient for me, and thy Strength perfected in my Weakness!

Tuesd. 20. At Ipswich. Visited two Malefactors under Sentence of Death. [He visited them again the two following days.]

September. Mond. 16. Introduced my work of Tuition among the Students at Plaisterers' Hall by delivering an Address to them relating to the Part of Education I had undertaken, and their Duty as Candidates for the Ministry.

October. Wed. 9 [at Ipswich]. Engaged in the Ordination of Mr. Gordon as Copastor with Mr. Notcutt, by preaching to the people from 1 Cor. 15. 58. Mr. King gave the Charge.

November. Frid. 1. Mr. Hurt & Mr. Fuller were chosen Deacons.

Thursd. 7. Prepared a Discourse as a Charge to the new Deacons.

December. Wed. 11. Spent the Day at Mr. Conder's at Mile End, where was Time spent in Prayer by Dr. Guyse, Mr. Hall, & Mr. Brewer on occasion of the Removal of the Academy there, &c.

Frid. 13. No Lectures to-Day, as the Students are busy in Removal from Plaisterers' Hall to Mile End.

Wed. 25. Went with my Child to the Chappel at St. James's, & saw the King & Royal Family.

W. H. SUMMERS.

[*To be continued*]

Congregationalism in Birmingham

(From material supplied by J. Rutherford)

I

THE earliest traces of Nonconformity in Birmingham appear about the year 1642; at which time, according to Clarendon, the town "was so generally wicked that it had risen upon small parties of the King's soldiers, and killed or taken them prisoners"; while Baxter speaks of the garrison of Coventry as then consisting in part of "the most religious men of the parts round about, especially from Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield, &c., . . men of great sobriety and soundness of understanding." The royalist parson, Smith, and his curate, Orton, seem to have been unpopular; the people generally being attached to "their minister," one Mr. Roberts, certainly a Puritan, and almost certainly a Nonconformist. This Mr. Roberts narrowly escaped with his life after the battle of Edge Hill; the royalist soldiers who occupied the town designing to kill him, and actually by mistake killing a minister named Whitehall, who had long been a lunatic. Smith was succeeded in the rectory of St. Martin's by Samuel Wills, who was recommended by Simeon Ash. He had been educated at Christ's College, Cambridge; and had ministered at Croxal, Staffordshire, and Great St. Helen's, London, before coming to Birmingham. There he remained till the Restoration, when he was irregularly evicted; after which he preached in St. John's chapel at Deritend (a chapel of ease to Aston parish church), until he was driven away by persecution—apparently before the general ejectment of 1662. For some time he ministered to a company of Nonconformists in Coventry, which was his birthplace; and after several removals, necessitated by the Corporation and Five-Mile Acts, he found refuge with his son, the conforming vicar of Leighton, Salop; at which place he died in 1684. Birmingham, not being then a corporate town, gave shelter to many of the ejected ministers. No less than eleven are named as residing there for a longer or shorter time, viz.:—Thos. Baldwin, vicar of Clent, Staff.; Mr. Bell, vicar of Polesworth, War.; Thos. Bladon, vicar of Alrewas, Staff.; W. Brookes, ejected from Hints, Staff.; S. Bryam, vicar of Allesley; War., who was imprisoned six months for preaching in Birmingham; S. Fisher, M.A., rector of Thornton-on-the-Moor, Ches.; W. Fincher, ejected from Wednesbury, Staff.; S. Hildersam, B.D., Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and rector of West Felton, Salop;

Geo. Long, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, ejected from Newcastle-under-Lyme; W. Turton, M.A., ejected from Rowley Regis, Staff.; and T. Wilsby, rector of Womborne, Staff.* Of these, most were accustomed to minister as opportunity was afforded; and during the brief "Indulgence" of 1673 S. Fisher had a room in the town licensed as a place of worship for Presbyterians. It is most likely that all these worthies were of that denomination.

The first permanent dissenting congregation was organized in 1687, the pastor being Rev. W. Turton. The *Old Meeting-House*, described as "a quaint, many-gabled structure," was built in 1689 at the cost of £220; and was paid for by eleven £20 shares, thus becoming a proprietary chapel: it was registered in the names of Messrs. Fincher, Baldwin, and Turton. The meeting-house was wrecked and almost destroyed by the Jacobite riots in 1715, and totally destroyed in the "Church and King" riots (known as the Priestley riots) of 1791. It was promptly rebuilt; but in 1881 was sold to a railway company, and is now represented by the *Old Meeting-House Church* in Bristol Street, built in 1885.

During the eighteenth century the Old Meeting usually had two ministers; and from 1700—1770 they supplied the affiliated meeting at *Oldbury*. The succession of Evangelical ministers was as follows:—W. Turton, 1686—1716; Daniel Greenwood (educated by John Woodhouse at Sheriff-Hales), 1700—1730; Edward Brodhurst (educated by T. Hill at Findern), 1714—1730; Daniel Mattock, from Daventry, 1732—1746; Joseph Wilkinson (educated by Doddridge at Northampton), 1739—1756. Then came William Howell, previously at Wincanton, Somerset (educated under Mr. Perrott at Carmarthen), 1746—1770; he was an Arian, as were the next five ministers, bringing the succession down to 1821. The last of these five had two successive colleagues who were avowed Unitarians, and all the subsequent ministers have been of that persuasion.

It has been alleged, on somewhat questionable authority, that at the end of the seventeenth century most of the people in Birmingham were dissenters. The population at this time is very variously reported, estimates ranging from 4,000 to 10,000. However this may have been, in 1692 a second meeting-house was deemed necessary, and accordingly in that year *The Lower Meeting* was erected behind the houses now numbered 224 and 226, Deritend. It was private property, and the owner, by parleying with the mob, saved it from destruction in the riot of 1715, though the seats were taken out and burnt. The building proving inconvenient, the congregation migrated in 1732 to the *New Meeting* in Moor Street. This was demolished by the rioters in 1791, but speedily rebuilt. In 1861 it was sold to the Roman Catholics, the congregation removing

* Josiah Basset, a Warwickshire ejected minister, is usually added to this list, but it was probably his son, who resided in Birmingham.

to the *Church of the Messiah* in Broad Street, which was opened 1st January, 1862.

The first pastor of the Lower Meeting was a Mr. Sillitoe, who ministered from 1692 to about 1704; nothing is known of him but that he was son-in-law of Rev. W. Fincher. His successors were Thomas Pickard, 1705—1747; Samuel Bourn (educated under Jas. Coningham, M.A., at Manchester), who since 1709 had held various pastorates in the north of England, 1732—1754; S. Blyth (educated by Dr. Latham at Findern), who since 1741 had ministered at Shrewsbury and Frome, 1747—1791. Mr. Bourn had become an Arian; and all the succeeding ministers were either Arians or Unitarians. From 1732 to 1761 the society at *Coseley* was affiliated to the New Meeting, and supplied by its ministers.

During the rebuilding of the Old and New Meeting-Houses, from 1791 to 1795, the two congregations worshipped together in a disused circus in Livery Street, thenceforth called *Union Meeting-House*, their ministers officiating alternately.

As is well known, the Presbyterian Church Order initiated under the Long Parliament was never completed, and entirely collapsed at the Restoration. The Presbyterian churches afterwards constituted were absolutely Independent, though not Congregational; vesting the power of government in their church officers, or in a body of trustees. Many of them, during the 18th century, became first Arian, and finally Unitarian; and those which escaped this blight, almost without exception, adopted the Congregational polity. From many Arianized societies there were Evangelical secessions, and these were usually formed into Congregational churches. This is what happened in Birmingham in 1747. An Evangelical minority, being outvoted in the election of Rev. W. Howell, constituted a church on Congregational principles. The leaders in this movement were John England, Messrs. Kendal and Halford, John Humphries, Geo. Davies, Rich. Jukes, Thos. Allen, and Clem. Fisher. Several of these were wealthy men. Messrs. England and Kendal were the first deacons; and Mr. England presented a silver communion service which is still in use.

A meeting-house was built on a plot of land behind cottages in *Carr's Lane*, to which access was by a narrow passage.* £40 was paid for the land, and the total cost was £700. There was accommodation for 450 worshippers. The building was opened in the summer of 1748, when Rev. J. Sloss, of Nottingham, preached from Ps. cxxii, 1. One of the original trustees was William Hutton, the historian of Birmingham. The population of the town at this time was 23,000; for whose use there were available the parish church of St. Martin, St. Philip's church, Deritend

*The name "Carr's Lane" is said to be a corruption of "God's Cart Lane"; derived from the shed in which, before the Reformation, a car was kept that was used in Corpus Christi processions.

chapel of ease, the Old and New Meetings, two Baptist meetings —General and Particular, a Friend's meeting, and a room occupied by the Methodists. Roman Catholics met in a private house; and there was probably, but not certainly, a Jews' synagogue.

The first pastor at Carr's Lane was Rev. Gervas Wylde, elected in November, 1748, at which time he was assistant to Mr. Sloss. His ordination was deferred till August, 1750; the use of the New Meeting being courteously granted for the occasion. Mr. Wylde was a popular and successful preacher, especially to the young. He died 14th November, 1766. His successor was Mr. Punfield, from Wimborne, Dorset; who was a sound divine and faithful pastor, but a very unattractive preacher. One of his hearers was Mr. Joseph Scott, who in 1779 conveyed to Carr's Lane meeting certain lands in trust—partly for a burial-ground, and partly for founding a charity school, repairing the meeting-house, the support of the minister, and other charitable uses. The value of the foundation was then only about £40 a year; it is now about £1,200. Mr. Scott died 29th March, 1781, aged 94. For a few years a Mr. Bass was engaged as assistant minister; who on the death of Mr. Punfield averted a threatened disruption by declining to be put in nomination as his successor. Mr. Punfield died 29th January, 1791, aged 63. He was succeeded by Dr. Edward Williams, who had been educated in the academy at Abergavenny, held a brief pastorate at Ross, and for fourteen years had been gaining distinction as pastor and tutor at Oswestry. He was one of the most eminent theologians of his day; and his works on *Baptism* and on *The Equity of Divine Sovereignty* were long accepted as authoritative. His ministry in Birmingham lasted less than four years, but was abundantly fruitful. In 1785 and 1792 the cottages surrounding the meeting-house were bought and demolished; the site being utilised for the accommodation of the Sunday school, which had been commenced about 1790. In 1793 the Warwickshire Association for Home and Foreign Missions was formed; and at its request Dr. Williams wrote a circular letter which proposed "the revival of religion in the churches at home, the more perfect evangelization of our own country, and the spread of the Gospel abroad by sending well qualified missionaries to the heathen." There can be little doubt that this letter contributed, as well as the better known appeal of Dr. Bogue in the following year, to the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Dr. Williams removed in that year to Masbro'; where he presided until his death over the institution afterwards known as Rotherham College, now merged in the Yorkshire United College. He died in 1813.

Dr. Williams was succeeded in Birmingham by Rev. Jehoiada Brewer; who, after gaining eminence as a lay preacher in and about Monmouthshire, had held pastorates at Rodborough and Sheffield. He was known to readers of the *Gospel Magazine* by the name of

" Sylvestris," over which signature appeared the still popular hymn " Hail, Sovereign Love, which first began." Otherwise he only published three or four sermons. He was an attractive and popular preacher, and in 1801 increasing congregations necessitated an enlarged or reconstructed building. A new chapel, fronting the lane, was resolved on, which was opened in 1802. But meanwhile dissensions arose, the cause of which is now forgotten. Mr. Brewer had only preached one Sunday in the new sanctuary when a division took place. Of 99 members 50 left with Mr. Brewer, and 49 remained. The seceders removed to the disused building in Livery Street.

The condition of the town at this time demands a passing reference. Birmingham parish is that portion which lies west of the river Rea ; Deritend, Bordesley, and Duddeston being within the parish of Aston, which also included the outlying villages of Aston, Castle Bromwich, Erdington, Nechells, and Saltley. The population of the two parishes, as given by the census of 1801, was 73,670,* but the place was a mere overgrown village, with no municipal life, and, of course, until 1832, no Parliamentary representation. Old prints represent New Street, Bennett's Hill, and St. Philip's church as comparatively in the country: Edgbaston, Handsworth, Harborne, King's Norton, Smethwick, and Yardley were distant villages. The borough was only incorporated in 1838; about fifty years later it received the designation of a city; and only in 1897 its chief magistrate attained the dignity of Lord Mayor. It may be noted here that in 1800 there were less than forty Congregational churches in the three counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford ; there are now, including branches, about 170.

The pulpit of Carr's Lane was vacant about three years after the removal of Mr. Brewer. Mr. Bennett of Romsey (afterwards Dr. Bennett of Rotherham College and Falcon Square), having declined an invitation, recommended a student from the academy at Gosport. Accordingly, in September 1805, Rev. John Angell James commenced one of the most remarkable ministries of the century. It continued no less than 54 years; and was attended, from first to last, with unbroken prosperity. In 1812 the meeting-house was improved by the erection of galleries, increasing the accommodation to 800. During the progress of this work the congregation were courteously granted the use of the Old Meeting-House during part of the Lord's Day. In the same year a Home Mission committee was formed, which promoted house-to-house visitation, founded Sunday schools and mission stations, and provided both lay-preachers and financial aid. At least a dozen churches and missions owe their origin to the enterprise of this committee.

Until 1813 Mr. James, like all his predecessors, preached three times each Sunday; in that year he was relieved by the appointment

*The population of the borough was not stated separately till 1851.

of an assistant; but in 1822 both assistant and afternoon service were discontinued. Before this time, however, the increasing congregation exceeded the capacity of the building. An entirely new structure was resolved on, a sum of £4,000 being promised within an hour for that purpose. The present *Carr's Lane chapel*, the third edifice on the same site, was commenced 13th July, 1819, and dedicated 30th August, 1820. The cost was about £11,000. The first organ, costing £400, was placed in 1825. Subsequent improvements and renovations, in 1863, 1865, 1876, 1884, and 1897, involved an aggregate expenditure of above £20,000.

Mr. James was neither a theologian nor an ecclesiastical statesman; but as an efficient and successful pastor he has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. His sympathies went far beyond his own congregation; and he had much to do with the formation of the Congregational Union, of which he was chairman in 1838. The Union, it may here be noted, held its first autumnal meeting in Birmingham in 1839, and subsequent meetings in 1861, 1880, and 1897. To the London Missionary Society Mr. James gave some of his best energies; the congregation during his ministry contributed to its funds no less than £20,900; and at least nine of its missionaries and missionaries' wives were members of Carr's Lane under his pastorate. The Evangelical Alliance owes much to his ardent advocacy; he took active interest in Spring Hill College; the Pastors' Retiring Fund was really of his creation. His various publications number about 50 titles and together make 17 stout 8vo. volumes. Most of them are now accounted out of date; but in their day they exercised an incalculable influence for good. As far back as 1849 *The Anxious Enquirer* had been circulated to the extent of 400,000 copies, and translated into eight languages, and it is not yet obsolete. *The Church Member's Guide* is of permanent interest; and other works ran to five, eight, and even sixteen editions. A conscientious scruple led him to decline the degree of D.D. which was offered him by the University of Glasgow and by two American universities.

In 1853 Mr. James felt the need of an assistant. He selected Rev. R. W. Dale, then a student at Spring Hill; who became co-pastor in 1854, and on the death of the senior pastor, 1st October, 1859, assumed the sole charge. His praise is in all the churches. Amidst many vicissitudes—the constant migration from the centre to the suburbs, the transfer of members to form new churches, the political and ecclesiastical controversies which engrossed public attention, the relations of pastor and church remained unchanged. He gave the church of his best, but also served the town and the nation. In 1869 he was chairman of the Congregational Union. His Congregational Lecture on *The Atonement*, delivered and published in 1875, is acknowledged as a theological classic, and gained for him the honorary degree of D.D. from Yale College—

which, like his predecessor, he declined to use, though he accepted a diploma of LL.D. from Glasgow in 1883. In 1878 he visited America, and delivered the well known *Yale Lectures on Preaching*; in 1887-8 he visited the Australian churches; and in 1891 presided over the first International Council of Congregational Churches, in London. For nearly 30 years he was chairman of the Board of Education of Spring Hill College; and mainly through his efforts it was transferred to Oxford. In Birmingham his leadership was universally recognised, not only in religious effort, but in education, politics, and social enterprises. On the School Board, as a governor of the grammar school, and on the Royal Commission on Education he rendered valuable service. His contributions to literature were numerous, and many of them of permanent value. Latterly impaired health constrained him to employ an assistant; and Rev. G. Barber, from Lancashire College (since of Bolton), served the church in that capacity for between two and three years. Dr. Dale's death, 13th March, 1895, was felt as a public loss, not only to the town but to the churches in general. But once again the Divine Head reproved the men of little faith, and shewed that His resources were inexhaustible. The church was speedily led to give a call to Rev. J. H. Jowett, of Newcastle, whose ministry has fulfilled their highest expectations. The present membership (including branches) exceeds a thousand; while the Sunday schools have 150 teachers and 2,700 scholars.

The seceders from Carr's Lane in 1802 found a temporary home in the disused *Union Chapel* in Livery Street. On 18th January, 1803, an informal call was addressed to Mr. Brewer by 48 church members (18 men and 30 women) and 161 "subscribers to the church assembling in Carr's Lane"; which was followed by a regular "church act," dated 16th June, 1803, signed by 45 persons, including 39 of the former signatories, and Mr. and Mrs. Brewer. The document is remarkable for its liberality of spirit, and its emphatic assertion of the equal rights of all church members, both men and women. The new fellowship increased year by year, and, the building in Livery Street being inconvenient, it was decided in 1813 to take steps toward the provision of a more suitable meeting place. The next year land in Steelhouse Lane, traditionally said to have been consecrated by the preaching of Whitefield, was bought for £2,100; and on 4th June, 1816, Mr. Brewer laid the foundation of *Ebenezer Chapel*. He never occupied its pulpit, but died 24th August, 1817; the chapel not being opened for worship till 9th December, 1818. It cost about £5,700, and was the first public building in the town lighted with gas.

The first minister of Ebenezer chapel was Rev. Timothy East, from Frome†; whose pastorate commenced 22nd February, 1818,

† A sermon preached by Mr. East at Frome led to the spiritual awakening of John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga.

and continued 25 years. He was an able and popular preacher, and an enthusiast in Evangelistic enterprise. From 1824 to 1826 he conducted a serial entitled *The Evangelical Rambler*; and subsequently published *The Sheepfold and the Common*, *The proper Deity of the Son of God*, a hymn book, and other works. One of the most notable features of his pastorate is the large number of persons eminent in education, philanthropy, and social leadership who became church members or regular attendants at Ebenezer. Foremost among them is the Mansfield family, of whose good works there is much to be told hereafter. Samuel Stanley was leader of the choir at the time of the secession, and held that post until his death in 1822; his tunes *Calvary*, *Shirland*, *Montgomery*, and a few others, are still popular. Rev. Benjamin Brook, formerly of Tutbury, author of the *Lives of the Puritans*, was a member from 1834 till his death in 1848. Henry Manton, who superintended the girls' Sunday school for fifty years, originated the Birmingham Sunday School Union, and was its president from its foundation in 1843 till his death. He was mayor of Birmingham in 1861, and died in 1903 at the venerable age of 94.

During the rebuilding of Carr's Lane chapel in 1819-20, that congregation worshipped at Ebenezer; the times of service being varied to suit their convenience. For one year, 1820-21, Rev. T. Williams assisted Mr. East as afternoon preacher; but the arrangement was not made permanent. Afterwards, in 1841, Rev. John Raven, from Hadleigh, was elected as co-pastor; and on Mr. East's retirement in 1843 he succeeded to the sole pastorate. Mr. East attained the great age of 88, and died at Deddington in 1871.

In 1823 efforts were made by the Birmingham pastors and others to introduce Nonconformist worship at *Solihull*, a small town seven miles south-east from Birmingham; but it was fully two years before a site could be obtained and a chapel built. Opposition was exceptionally violent; and a paper was circulated—said to have been written by an Anglican clergyman—in which the promoters, especially Mr. James and Mr. East, were reviled in terms equally scurrilous and mendacious. However, a church was formed, and a faithful minister located; and the cause has had a varying measure of prosperity. An offshoot from Solihull was the chapel at *Knowle*, a village three miles off, which was opened in 1835. Here, after twelve or fourteen years, the interest declined. But in 1876 a small church was constituted, which continues to minister to the spiritual needs of the village.

In 1834 a chapel was built at *Coleshill*, a small town about nine miles east of Birmingham. Towards the cost of this, £1,200, Miss Elizabeth Mansfield and her sister, Mrs. Glover, contributed the greater part. A church of eight members was formed in 1835, and except for a brief interval—1845-1850—has continued until now.

In 1837 a chapel was built at *Marston Green*, about three miles north of Coleshill, where a preaching station and a Sunday school had been carried on for some time with assistance from Ebenezer. But this enterprise had little success, and after long efforts the chapel was sold in 1862 to the vicar of Coleshill—the visitation of the cottages in the surrounding villages being still undertaken by the pastor of Coleshill church.

During the joint pastorate of Messrs. East and Raven the first marriage in the chapel took place, 23rd September, 1842. A "Young Men's Fraternal Association," really a literary and debating society, was commenced in 1841, and lasted about ten years. Its rules afford an amusing example of the limitations which in those days it was thought necessary to place on intellectual freedom. Mr. Raven removed to Dudley in March, 1844; and after a brief interval was succeeded by Rev. Jas. Roberts, from Melton Mowbray. His pastorate was troubled, and he removed to Truro early in 1848. Nearly two years elapsed before his successor was appointed. At length an invitation was given to, and declined by, Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D., principal of Lancashire College. This led to the introducing of his son, Rev. Robert Alfred Vaughan, lately co-pastor with Rev. W. Jay at Bath. Mr. Vaughan, junr., entered on the charge in the summer of 1850, but was compelled by failing health to retire in June, 1855, and died in October, 1857. He "was a scholar of culture, and a writer of great ability." The well-known *Hours with the Mystics* is his chief literary monument.

Three more short pastorates followed: Rev. John Knox Stallybrass, from Bridport, September, 1856 to August, 1858, when ill-health compelled his retirement; Rev. R. D. Wilson, from Wolverhampton, November, 1858, who removed to London early in 1865; Rev. Samuel Pearson, from London, January, 1866, who removed to Liverpool, December, 1868. There had thus been six pastors in 25 years. The number of church members at this time was 480.

The succeeding pastors were:—Rev. Frederick Stephens, from Croydon, July, 1869. "His preaching was too solid to be popular, but was earnest, sympathetic, and essentially spiritual." He retired November, 1875. Rev. Eric A. Lawrence, from Spring Hill College (whither he went from Carr's Lane church), July, 1876; he removed to Square church, Halifax, toward the end of 1882. Rev. J. Nicholas Knight, formerly in the Wesleyan ministry at Small Heath and Nottingham, June, 1884; in April, 1902, he removed to Wycliffe church, Hull. The church, like most mid-town churches, has suffered much through migration to the suburbs. Its present membership is 232; the Sunday schools have 45 teachers and 456 scholars.

It is an interesting fact that the first lectures of the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute—which in after years developed into the Midland Institute—were delivered, in 1826, in Ebenezer schoolroom.

A minority of the members at Livery Street declined to accompany their brethren to Steelhouse Lane, and formed the nucleus of a new church. In 1819 they invited as their pastor Rev. John Eagleton, of Coventry, a self-educated man of considerable ability. He gathered a large congregation, and a large sum was spent in altering and improving the building. However, in 1826 Mr. Eagleton removed to Huddersfield. Troublous times ensued upon his removal, five pastors—Messrs. Mathers, Simon Binks, W. Bean, Thongar, and J. Griffiths—following each other in thirteen years. In 1839 Rev. Jas. Alsop, formerly a Wesleyan minister, became pastor; and, finding the place hopelessly encumbered with rent and debt, resolved on a new chapel. A site was obtained in Graham Street, where *Highbury Chapel* was built in 1845. Mr. Alsop resigned in 1848 and was succeeded by Rev. Brewin Grant, from Prescot. His ministry had lasted only about four years when he resigned in order to itinerate as a lecturer in defence of the Christian Revelation against the advocates of infidelity. Mr. Grant was a keen and effective controversialist, and encountered most of the leading secularists of the day. He afterwards held a pastorate in Sheffield, and finally conformed to the State Church, against which he had written vigorously while in Birmingham; but in his later years became its uncompromising apologist. A succession of brief pastorates followed his removal from Highbury; Rev. J. Cowper Gray, remembered for his valuable *Biblical Museum* and other books for Sunday school teachers (15 months), Rev. J. R. Jones (2 years), Rev. R. Hall (3 years). In 1861 Mr. W. F. Callaway, then living in Birmingham as a representative of the Liberation Society, was induced by Dr. Dale to supply the pulpit. After a short time he was invited to the pastorate, which he sustained with ever increasing efficiency for twenty-five years. In July, 1879, the pastor and congregation removed to a new and larger edifice on *Soho Hill.* Mr. Callaway died in 1886, at the early age of 53 years, after a long period of suffering heroically borne. His pastorate left an indelible mark, not only on his own church, but on the life of other churches in town and country. His genial and unassuming manner, the simple and lucid style in which he was accustomed to expound great principles of faith and life, have rarely been surpassed. He was an enthusiastic lover of children, who loved him in return. His successors were Rev. W. Pierce, from Leytonstone, 1887-1889, removed to London; Rev. C. Lemoine, from London, 1890-93, removed to Leeds; Rev. A. Seys Howell, from Southampton, 1894-1902. The church, which seats above 1,200, the spacious schools, etc., cost £17,000, and were freed from debt in 1901. The church members are about 500; the schools have 59 teachers and 635 scholars. Rev. J. Wylie, of Belfast, became pastor in 1903.

Notwithstanding the heavy burden of its own debt the church kept up its interest in the Brookfields districts, and mission

work was begun at *Norton Street* Board school in 1883; which 12 years later was removed to the Institute premises built for the purpose in *Lodge Road*, Soho, where a zealous band of workers has been gathered.

On the removal of Mr. Callaway's congregation to Soho Hill, the chapel in Graham Street was offered for sale. It was bought by Sir Richard Tangye, on behalf of a committee, with a view to being speedily re-opened. The committee offered the charge to Rev. C. Leach, who for four years had ministered in the Methodist New Connexion at Ladywood, and whose removal thence by Conference was greatly regretted by many. A church of 127 members was formed, and Mr. Leach elected pastor. He attracted large congregations, and maintained a successful ministry for seven years, 1879-1886, after which he removed to London. Rev. C. L. Allen, from Daventry, followed, and ministered for twelve years, latterly with some discouragement. He removed to Broadway in 1899; and the following year Rev. F. J. Gould, from Steeple Bumpstead, assumed the pastorate. There are at present about 220 members, 28 teachers, and 280 scholars.

We now proceed to notice those churches which originated, directly or indirectly, in the efforts of workers at Carr's Lane.

In May, 1810, some members of the mother church commenced a Sunday school and preaching services in *Smethwick*—near the "Cape of Good Hope." In three years' time the need of larger accommodation was met by removing to the house of Mr. Newland, at the junction of Bearwood Hill and Bearwood Road. Ten years later a chapel became necessary; which was built at the corner of Crockett's Lane, and opened by Rev. J. A. James in 1824. All this time teachers and preachers journeyed from Carr's Lane to Smethwick; communicants walked from Smethwick to Carr's Lane for the sacrament; and yearly, on Easter Tuesday, the village scholars walked to the town church to hear an address from Mr. James. In 1837 a separate church was organized; which for some time received from Carr's Lane a grant of £40 a year towards the support of a minister. The first pastor was Rev. D. A. Owen, 1837—1844. Smethwick is outside the limits of Birmingham, and is now a distinct municipality. Of the several pastors who have ministered there the most distinguished was Rev. Thos. Arnold, 1851—1858, in whose time the present church in High Street was built. He is widely and gratefully remembered for his beneficent labours on behalf of the deaf and dumb.

In 1873 the Smethwick church united with that at Oldbury to found a mission at *West Smethwick*, which has grown to be a flourishing branch with a resident minister.

In 1820 the Home Mission Committee commenced a Sunday school and preaching station in the village of *Yardley*; but two years later, when Rev. Henry Gwyther became vicar, the work was

handed over to him. Attention was then directed to *Tyseley*, where a cottager lent a room for preaching. This soon became too small, and in 1827 a small chapel was built in Rushall Lane, at a cost of about £400. The mission was carried on until 1859, when the foundation of *Acock's Green* church was laid. The church was organized the next year, Rev. Dr. Alliott—president of Spring Hill College—becoming pastor. He died in 1863, and was succeeded by Professor Bubier (4 years), Rev. A. Cook (1 year), and Rev. R. Riccardo, (6 years), during whose ministry the gallery and organ were erected. In 1879 Rev. Jos. Bainton, from Ilfracombe, entered on an 8 years' pastorate; and on his removal to East Grinstead was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. Edgar Todd, from Marsden, Yorks. In 1895 the church was greatly enlarged, and new schools erected. There are 212 church members, 25 teachers, and about 400 scholars. Since 1875 mission services had been resumed in Yardley, under the direction of Mr. Josiah Dearington and his family. A hall was built in 1878, and a branch church formed in 1882, which became independent in 1899. There are 90 church members, and over 200 scholars.

As early as 1862 the deacons at Acock's Green initiated preaching-services at the Old Manor House, Beggarly Green, now known as *Olton*. They were conducted for about sixteen years by students from Spring Hill College; and in 1878 a shop was transformed into a chapel. The same year a church was constituted, with Rev. H. Rudge as pastor. On his retirement, in 1893, the church was re-organized: two years later Rev. H. Stowell, from Mansfield College, assumed the pastorate; and a new and handsome church was opened 1st January, 1901.

In 1821 two members of Carr's Lane visited Great Barr Street "to try to get a few boys together for instruction." They soon had seventy promises; and the next year "the shell of four houses" in *Watery Lane* was leased for seven years, and converted into two good schoolrooms. In a few months Sunday services were commenced for adults. In 1829 the mission was transferred to a chapel built in *Garrison Lane*, at a cost of £400. In 1843 this was converted into schoolrooms, and a larger chapel built in *Palmer Street*, at a cost of £1,200. In 1837 a salaried missionary was employed. A separate church was constituted in 1860, when Mr. E. Derrington was chosen pastor. After five years he was succeeded by Mr. B. Worton, who laboured assiduously for no less than 25 years, being at the same time engaged in business. Under his able leadership the church became independent in 1872. The chapel was sold, and new school premises erected in *St. Andrew's Road*. In 1892 Rev. H. W. Watson, who had been an evangelist in Holy Trinity parish (Episcopal), became minister, but left after two years. In 1895 Rev. T. Lee Hutson, formerly in the Methodist New Connexion, was invited to the pastorate. In a short time the building

debt was cleared; and in June, 1902, the foundation was laid of a permanent church which has since been opened at a cost of £2,850. There are 226 church members, 35 teachers, and 632 scholars.

In 1833 Mr. Benjamin Millichamp, a deacon of Carr's Lane, commenced a Sunday school in his own farm house in Lozell's Lane. In 1838 the foundation stone of a chapel in *Wheeler Street* was laid by Rev. J. A. James; two years later a church of 29 members was constituted, and Rev. A. E. Pearce chosen as pastor. In 1844 he was succeeded by Rev. John Baker, who remained eight years. After an interval of two years the chapel was enlarged by the generous aid of friends at Carr's Lane. There were then two short pastorates; Rev. Henry Cuttle, one year, and Rev. E. Miller, two years. The last named has left his memorial in a work of great value, *Singers and Songs of the Church.* In 1859 commenced the memorable pastorate of Rev. J. T. Feaston, formerly at Wotton-under-Edge and Guernsey; whose remarkable power of leadership, and enthusiasm in the cause of Congregational psalmody, caused Lozell's chapel to be celebrated far and wide. At his coming the members numbered 60. He virtually organized the whole congregation into a great choir of nearly 400 voices, all grouped in their several parts. The practice meetings on week-days were largely attended; tunes being taught by the figured notation, from Dr. Waite's *Hallelujah* tune-book, which is still in use. There was no organ or other instrument, simply a tuning fork or pitch pipe to give the key note. Rev. John Curwen and other enthusiasts in Church psalmody came to hear, and wrote delightedly about the grandeur and harmony of this purely vocal music. The memory of this unique contribution to Congregational worship is still perpetuated in a singular column of small-type advertisement in *The Christian World*, which appears on the anniversary of Mr. Feaston's death. He was equally ardent in the cause of education; the Gower Street day school, built by him and his wife, was opened in January, 1862, and when he left the town it was given to the church. The present spacious church edifice was built in 1863; Mr. Millichamp survived its opening only a few months. Failure of health frequently disabled Mr. Feaston from preaching in so large a building; for a while he employed an assistant; but as this arrangement was not quite satisfactory he introduced Rev. R. W. McAll, D.D., who he hoped would be acceptable as his successor, and retired in 1867. For some years ill-health compelled him to lead a migratory life, but he lived to the age of 75, and died at Bristol in 1893. Dr. McAll only held the pastorate for six months, and then went to Paris; where he and his gifted wife commenced the Protestant Mission services which were known all over France as *l'œuvre McAll.* After his departure the church was for two years without a pastor, during which time the old chapel was converted into a lecture hall, with vestries, class-rooms, and a chapel-house. At the beginning of

1870 Rev. Jos. Shillito, from Liverpool, began a ministry of thirteen years' duration ; and about 1875 the church attained its greatest popularity, being crowded with worshippers, many of whom came long distances. Mr. Shillito resigned in 1883 ; his successors were Revs. P. Colborne, 1884—1891, and W. G. Percival, 1892—the present minister. An organ was introduced in 1886. There are at present about 340 church members, 50 teachers, and 620 scholars.

About 1840 a small chapel was built in the village of *Minworth*, five or six miles from Birmingham; which is still supplied by lay preachers, mostly from Carr's Lane.

In 1837 a mission was commenced in a hired room in *Allison Street*, Digbeth, and a town missionary employed in house-to-house visitation. Mr. Simon Carter became missionary in 1855, and the work was transferred to an old chapel in *Bordesley Street*, originally built for the Primitive Methodists. In 1860 a church was organized, with Mr. Carter as pastor. Another building, in *Gooch Street*, was purchased from the trustees of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, and worked for some years as a mission station by Messrs. A. Arculus, W. Hudson, and others. In 1875 it was decided, at the request of the Carr's Lane Town Mission committee, to remove the work from Bordesley Street thither. At the same time seventy members were transferred from the Carr's Lane roll to Mr. Carter's pastorate ; and for some years the work went on prosperously. Meanwhile Bordesley Street chapel was continued for a few years as a mission station by Rev. Micaiah Hill, secretary to the Birmingham Town Mission, with grants from the County Union ; but in 1880 it was sold to the Salvation Army. Mr. Carter retired in 1887, after which the interest in Gooch Street declined. The church was disbanded in 1894 ; services were continued for some time, but in 1897 the building was sold to the Society of Friends.

In 1854 a Church Extension committee was formed of members of Carr's Lane and Ebenezer residing in *Edgbaston*. They secured a site in Francis Road, where on 11th September, 1855, Mr. James laid the foundation stone of a church ; that day being the jubilee of his ministry. The church was opened 8th October, 1856, and organized the following month with 49 members. Schools were subsequently built, and in 1871 a mission hall was erected in *Sherborne Street*. The first pastor was Rev. G. B. Johnson, formerly at Doncaster and Darwen, who ministered from 1858 to 1877, when he removed to Torquay. He was the beloved and honoured friend not only of his own church, but of all the churches in the county ; as it was on his own initiative, jointly with his brother-in-law, Rev. E. H. Delf, of Coventry, that the Warwickshire Congregational Union was formed in 1860, and they served as joint secretaries during the remainder of Mr. Johnson's residence in Edgbaston. One of the deacons of this church, Mr. J. Bickerton Williams, who had removed from Lozells to Edgbaston, was secretary of the local

Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society for 33 years, 1859–1892. Mr. Johnson retired from the stated ministry in 1887, and died in 1902. He was succeeded at Edgbaston by Rev. W. F. Clarkson, from Lincoln, in 1878; who resigned in 1890 on becoming secretary to the Church Aid Society. The present pastor, Rev. W. S. Houghton, removed from Cambridge in 1891. The membership is above 600, with 64 teachers and 800 scholars.

In 1870 the Carr's Lane Mission committee appointed Mr. Coleman as house-to-house missionary in the Fazeley Street district; which work he continued for 24 years until his death. In 1897 this mission was united with another which had been carried on in Rea Street, when *Moseley Street Hall* was purchased, and a vigorous attack made on one of the Birmingham slums. In 1900 Rev. A. J. Naylor, from Hexham, was appointed minister. *Cattell Road Hall* was built in 1892, to which a mission commenced some years before in Greenway Street, Small Heath, was transferred. Carr's Lane also maintains missions to young people in Sherborne Road and Dartmouth Street Board schools.

In November, 1898, the church at Carr's Lane celebrated its 150th anniversary by a thank-offering of about £600. With this they purchased a moveable iron building, to be set up in new districts for a term of years to enable new congregations to be gathered. It was erected at *Sparkhill*; where public worship was commenced in June, 1901, and conducted for twelve months by local ministers and lay preachers. A church of 30 members was then formed, and a minister located.

We have thus far merely told in brief the story of those churches and missions which are, directly or indirectly, offshoots from Carr's Lane. At the time of the disruption in 1802 this mother church had 99 members. It is now represented by thirteen churches and five missions; with an aggregate, at the end of 1902, of 3,663 church members, 562 teachers, 7,714 Sunday scholars, and 58 lay preachers.

[*To be continued*]

Prison Correspondence of an Ejected Minister

THE following letters, hitherto unpublished, passed between the Rev. Robert Franklin and his wife in 1670. From a notice in Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial* it appears that Franklin was born in 1630; educated at Jesus College, Cambridge; from 1651 ministered successively at Kirton near Ipswich, Bramfield, and Blythburgh; and in 1658 became vicar of Westhall—all in East Suffolk. Being ejected by the Act of Uniformity he came to London, ministering as opportunity was afforded. In 1670, shortly after his marriage, he was imprisoned in Aylesbury gaol for preaching at "Colebrook," presumably Colnbrook. Subsequently he endured at least three other imprisonments for the crime of preaching the Gospel. The time and place of his death are unknown. His wife died in 1713; her funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Grosvenor, contains an interesting account of her spiritual life and persecutions, from her own autograph reminiscences. This document, as well as a narrative in the handwriting of Mr. Franklin, was in the hands of the Rev. S. Palmer in 1803. The letters remained in the possession of Mrs. Bailey of Windsor—a descendant of the Franklins—till her death in 1814. They subsequently passed into the hands of Joshua Wilson, Esq., as did also the "Reminiscences," and came, with many of his papers, to the Congregational Library. Mrs. Bailey also held the MS. of an unpublished catechism in Mr. Franklin's hand, entitled *Two*

and fifty questions for the benefit of little children. It is uncertain whether this MS. is still in existence. If so, it is highly desirable that it should be discovered and placed in security.

Mr. Franklin is not known to have published anything ; but he is said to have addressed a letter to Charles II., congratulating him on the Restoration, and urging him to improve it by promoting religious reform.

The letters are given *literatim*, but some necessary punctuation is supplied. The words interlined are indicated † thus ⸸.

(I)

London July y^e^ 4. 1667.

My Dear Love,

I am not willing to let any opportunity slip; I therefore was willing to take this, only to present you with a few linnes at this Time, intending to be more Larg when my cosen Dale returns. After my kind Love to thee, this is to acquaint you that through †y^e^⸸ great goodness and mercy of our gracious God I am in health at present, and the rest of our friends ; only my brother Matthew is †sick⸸ of a feaver. he was taken the Last friday, and yesterday there came a Letter with news that he was very bad. my mother went to him, and is still with him, so that I am now more alone ; but I hope the Lord is with me, and so Long I cannot say that I am alone, for he is the best company, as I believe you do find by experience. while I was writeing my Letter, m^r^ CusLack came in, and according to his promise brought me the †book⸸ cal'd a wellcome to the plague. he remembered his love to you. his kindness to me hath been very great ; I desire if you have any occation [to] write to him, or see †him⸸, that you would take notice of it. I have Lookt a little into the book, wherein I see there is councle that doth concern me in the Lords present dealling with me, that I long to be Looking further into it. I desire your praiers to the Lord, for his blessing in y^e^ reading of it. thus I rest (being in hast at this time as you see by my writeing,) rejoyceing to hear of your health and prosperity in soul and body, †and⸸ praying for a continuance of it ; thy Loveing dutyfull and obeydent wife Mary franklin.

Since I write my Letter I hear that our friends do not

†goe↓ till next week, because they have set apart tewsday to seek y^e^ Lord [in] thy behalf. I fear my body cannot be with them, but my heart will ; y^e^ good Lord heare in heaven and answer their requests for thee : it is keept at m^r^ coopers. the friends that intended to have visited thee was m^r^ willkinson and m^r^ taylor & an other whom we did not hear his name. I had write my letter and therefore was willing to send it, to send you ye sad news that my sister tanner comeing from [*two words illegible*] night, & brought [*illegible*] of poor brother Matthew, who Lies very weak, and it is much feared he will hardly recover. through the goodness of God wee have injoyed another sabath in peace, though we had ·3· sermonts. y^e^ old minister that preacht for M^r^ Dolitle preacht on at ·7·a clock in y^e^ morning, & another at ·12· and m^r^ pack preacht [*word obliterated*] at ·2· in y^e^ after noone. but m^r^ parthridg was disturbed by y^e^ soldiers who were very rude they shot bulets to shut open his door and killed his mayd and carried severall of his people to prison. excuse y^e^ bad writing and spelling for I am in great hast it b... [*torn and illegible*] my sister Tanner rmembers her most hearty love to you.

(*Address* :—) These
ffor m^r^ Robert ffrancklin
Leave this with m^r^
Burch keeper of
Alisbury Goale
Alisbury.

(II)

London July y^e^. 6. 1670.

My Dear Love,

I received your Loveing Letters, for which I give you many thanks, and do rejoice to hear of your health; which mercy †through↓ the goodness of God I allso injoy, only I have now and then some pains upon me, that I must not while I am in this condition expect to [be] without. I wish I could say that my soul prospered and were in health as my body is. I desire to bless †y^e^ Lord↓ that hath heard praiers for me, and hath blest Counsell to me, that my mind is much more calmed and quieted with his will and wise dispose of things then it was. I desire to eye the providence of god in this dispensation, which I believe will work for the best for us, though we cannot †at present↓ see how or which way. I thank you for the remembrance of me in your praiers. (I hope I do and †shall↓ reap the benifit of them.) I desire

a continuance of them for me, for I do greatly stand in need of your help in seeking the Lord for me, that he would inable me to follow your good and seasonable advice, that I may be found exerciseing those excellent graces faith and patience which I do greatly stand in need of ; and that I may cast my burden upon the Lord, that he may sustain me, and that I may be so assured of gods being with me that though I should goe down to the valley of the shadow of death I may fear noe evill. I can, through the infinit goodness of god to my poor soul, say from my own experence that †a⸸ glimps of the Light of gods countenance will sweeten the bitterest cup. o that I could so Love the Lord Jesus and keep his commandements that so †he might.⸸ make good those precious promises to me, John 14 : 21 · 23 ; to manifest himself to me, and to come and make his abode with me. thy heart cannot be more with me than mine is with thee ; I never so much experenced a longing condition as now by reason of thy absence. I received this day a Letter from uncle Troughton, who gives me good councle in it I desire the Lord to †bless⸸ [*over a partly obliterated word which looks like* "sanctifie"] it to me. he allso remembers himself kindly to you, and so do many more of our friends and relations as I have occation to see or meet with. my brother Matthew continues very weak still, it is thought more Likely to die than live. he hath many symtomes of death upon him, a routhling in his throat, and he is very much distempred in his head and talks Idlly (?). I went yesterday to see him, he askt me as well as he could how you did. y^e^ news that I sent you about m^r^ partridge is true, only that y^e^ maid was dead is not trew ; she was nigh death, but is recovered. Here was a woman which brought me 2s. ; she saith you Lent her 5, she will bring y^e^ rest as soon as she can get it. her name is taylor. M^r^ Vincents wifes Leg it is thought must be cut of they keept a fast †to seeke y^e^ lord⸸ an her behalf Yesterday. m^r^ bates was married Lords day was sevennight, very privetly, only his own relation were their. Here was one m^r^ prat came to see me that came from you on Munday. my father had a Letter from Uncle Smith ; cosen Caleb and he are reconsiled again ; he hath sent you 20s. my sister Tanner remembers her Love to you ; her kindness is very great in bearing me company now my mother is absent. This being all at present, with my kind love to thee, I rest, desireing to be till death your Loveing dutyfull and obeydent wife, to y^e^ utmost of my power

Mary ffrancklin.

pray remember my respects to Mr. burtch.

(*Address* :—) These
ffor Her Dear and
Loveing Husband M^r^
Robert Francklin.
In Alisbury.

(III)

Alisbury Goale July y^e^. 9. 1670.

My Dearly Beloved

Grace mercy & peace be abundantly multiplied vnto thee. I doe thankfully acknowledge thy reall kindnesse in thy loveing letters. thou didst plead excuse for thy bad writeing, w^ch^ I could easily doe were thy defects many more ; but, my Dear, I cannot excuse thy defects in Arithmetick, in that thy last by the mark was dated 1667—nigh two years before we could call Husband & Wife : this Antedating is an errata y^t^ requires amendment. Thy last, w^th^ my Dear ffathers by Cosen Dale, Did greatly delight : if thou didst but know the content I take to see thy handwriting, now I cannot see thy deare face, thou wouldst not let me goe a weeke long w^thout a letter, but now I expect the time is at hand w^n^ for a while thou wilt not be in a condition to give me those paper visits. thy excuse will y^n^ be made : the God of Heaven draw nigh vnto thee stand by thee, p^r^serve thee, & deliver thee. Spare no needfull thing for thy goode ; our God will pvide, his providence is our inheritance.

My Deare I pray let there be care taken the first coach after thy delivery that I may heare of thee. I blesse the Lord for that spirituall mind I discerne more & more to be in thee, & that the least glimpse of y^e^ light of y^e^ Lords countenance is so sweete & p^r^tious vnto thee. if a glimpse, what will then his full glory bee !

I reioice in y^e^ later tydings of my Deare Brother Mathews hopefull recovery That my ffather did hint ; y^e^ Good Lord gratiously hasten it. I lament y^e^ condition of Deare Sister Vincent ; the Lord spare & save her from that stroke. Much happynes I desire May attend M^r^ Bates in his married condition ; My respects to him & wife. Acknowledgment of great kindnes of Dear Sister Tanner w^th^ my endeared (?) affections to her and Good Brother. I intend as soone as I can to send to my Grandmother Nixson & Uncle Smith.

Many Thanks I pray to my Honoured ffather for his letter & news ; we are here very barren of any; no Gazett ever (?) in towne, no narative. I must still blame my Brother Thomas,

yet cordiall affection ; I did thinke Clarks were more ready writers. I earnestly entreat a weeke may be longest my ffather forbears writing ; I cannot well beare any longer delay ; thou wouldest wonder what lookings & longings I have for letters. Its hope (?) to see but y^e^ handwriting of my Dear relations ; my cordiall affections to all as occasion offered. My Reverend & Worthy Brother Wells w^th^ his good wife & sonne were in towne last night ; sent for mee to their Inn, did condole at my sufferings, And did w^th^ all congratulate my health & welfare, & further expressed their kindnesse in ministering to my necessities almost enough to defray a weeks charge of my imprisonment. They intend to visit thee ; have a grateful acknowledgement of their kindnesse.

Let my ffather Ware of a Trepanner, 5 mile of us, that went to a meeting of Anabap : p^r^tended a gifted Brother, exercised among them, after betrayed them to penalty of law ; p^r^tended treason agst one ; shews warrant from Sir Edward Morten for so doing : played the hipocrite most abominably in whole manage (?). not further to tyre thee, but my most endeared affections to thee, earnestly praying for thee that I may yet heare further of thy safety and prosperity in soule & body. I am thy Loving & ffaithfull Husband Robert Francklin.

I greatly rejoice in the forethoughts of seeing my Deare ffather, Brother Tanner & uncle Aunt Sheems (?) Vale.

I pray let not my Deare Mother take exception that no sooner mentioned for I have endeared affection & duty for her; I am [*three words unintelligible*] owne.

(*Address* :—)

These

For m^rs^ Mary Franklin in
ancor ally by Bunhill feilds agst
Artillery ground
Criplegate London

(*In another hand*) C (*or* 6) Letter

(IV)

Alesbury Goale
Aug : 10.70
Note their is a coach also from
Alesbury y^t^ Inns at Bull
Holborne.

My Dearly Beloved,

Grace mercy & peace be abundantly multiplied vnto you from the fountain of all, your own p^r^tious Lord Jesus. I

am greatly refreshed to see againe thy handwriteing, & to heare of thy recovery, and at the hope to see & enjoy thee y^e^ next weeke by Divine p^r^mission. I beg the Lord to strengthen thee, and gratiously to psper thy journeying with my Deare ffather & mother: I greatly delight in those seasonable & suitable notes thou did'st take, as to Divine dealeing with us. vndoubtedly it is much better to have at the hands of God what is good for us then what we desire ourselves. Gods dispensations are the results of the highest wisdome. I have notice Lord Auchrim (?) was lately at Colebrooke, much troubled at my imprisonment : intends to be at Assize & to doe his utmost for my relase. Acquaint my ffather we need not doubt of hireing horses to Oxford if we have liberty ; I have not time yet to enquire at what rate. I have no mind Hester should be at my house, & much more unwilling in that she is out of a place. I know much of her disposition ; she is not so grateful a person as thou maiest imagine ; &, being afflicted with a very troublesom disease, thou dost not know what ill consequence may be of such a kindnesse. if M^rs^ Pierce's (?) occasion would permit I think it might doe well. How beit if my ffather & you judge meet, I will not absolutely oppose it. You need not trouble your selfe to bring any considerable some of mony w^th^ you ; I think I have to defray prison charges, what at Assize, and if released to bring us home. I am thine cordially Loving Robert Francklin.

Love duty & service to all friends & relations as respectively due.

(*Address* :—)

These
For his Loveing wife M^rs^
Mary ffrancklin in
Anchor ally by Artillery
grounds
Criplegate parish
London

(*In another hand*) 11 Letter

NOTES.

The references to bad writing in letters I and III are a connubial joke. Mrs Franklin's hand is, in most places, as clear as print ; while her husband's is often very difficult to decipher.

I. *A Wellcome to the Plague* is by Samuel Shaw, the ejected rector of Long Whatton, Leicestershire. In 1665 he was living near Loughborough, when he and his whole family suffered from the plague, and two of his children died. The book mentioned was published in 1668, reprinted 1674, and again

1825. It is usually included with two other tracts under the general title, *A voice crying in the Wilderness.* In 1666 Shaw became master of the free school at Ashby de la Zouch. He licensed the school-house for worship after the Toleration Act, and died 1696.

"Mr. Cooper" is perhaps William Cooper, ejected from St. Olave's, Southwark, and formerly chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia.

"Mr. Wilkinson" may be Dr. H. Wilkinson. After his ejectment from his professorship at Oxford he lived in London. When the Indulgence was granted he kept open meeting at Clapham, and died there 1676.

"Mr. Taylor" may be *either* Thomas Taylor, the ejected master of a grammar school at Swaffham, Norfolk, who afterwards preached in London and Croydon, and died 1700; *or* Richard Taylor, ejected from Flint, North Wales, afterwards pastor at Barking, died 1697.

"Mr. Dolitle" is Thomas Doolittel, ejected minister of St. Alphage, London Wall. Almost immediately after the ejectment he commenced an academy in Islington, and before the Indulgence he built a meeting-house in Monkwell Street. He was the last survivor of the ejected ministers in London, and died 1707 aged 77.

"Mr. Pack" does not appear among the ejected ministers. He was probably "Samuel Pack, preacher of the Gospel," who in 1672 and -3 published three small treatises on election, sanctification, &c., without note of place or printer's name.

"Mr. Partridge" is, no doubt, Nathaniel Partridge, the ejected minister of St. Michael's church, St. Alban's. He ministered to a society in Old Street, which afterwards removed to Plaisterers' Hall, and to which Mr. Franklin occasionally preached. He died 1684.

II. "Uncle Troughton" may possibly be William Troughton, the ejected minister of St. Martin's, Salisbury. He ministered for some time privately, there and in Bristol; and removed to London in or after 1674. Or the person intended may be John Troughton, who, though blind from childhood, gained a fellowship in St. John's College, Oxford. Being ejected he taught a school at Bicester, preaching occasionally both there and in Oxford. He was the author of several works of importance, and died 1681.

"Mr. Vincent" is *probably* Thomas Vincent, ejected from St. Mary Magdalene's, Milk Street. He remained in London throughout the Great Plague, ministering to the sufferers. Afterwards he was assistant to Mr. Doolittel, and died 1678, aged 44. Or the reference *may* be to his brother, Nathaniel Vincent, ejected from Langley Marsh, Berks. He also ministered in London during the Plague, and died 1697, aged 58.

"Mr. Bates" may be Dr. William Bates. No available records give any information about his marriage or family.

"Mr. Prat" may possibly be John Prat, M.D., who was deprived of a fellowship in Trinity College, Cambridge. But this is a mere guess.

The remembrance to Mr. Burtch—the gaoler—indicates kindly relations between that official and his prisoner, similar to those which subsisted between Bunyan and the gaoler at Bedford. This is confirmed by the incident mentioned in the next letter.

III. "Brother Wells" must be either John Wells, ejected minister of St. Olave's, Jewry, *or* Samuel Wells of Banbury. Both were wealthy men. There seems to be no clue to the other names mentioned.

The news expected by the "first coach" was disappointing; the expected child being stillborn.

NOTES AND QUERIES

About 1780 some disagreement arose between Rev. Rowland Hill and the Countess of Huntingdon; in consequence of which the Countess wrote in 1782 "I have seen sufficient cause to exclude him from serving in my chapels for the present." Rev. Torial Joss and some others are understood to have been in like manner excluded. Can anyone give particulars of *the letter which the Countess wrote to the managers of her various chapels* on the subject?

W. Tuck.

*

Can anyone indicate the author or source of a hymn, No. 166 in Williams and Boden's Hymnbook (1801 flg.), commencing "The righteous souls that take their flight"? In the edition of 1812 it is assigned to "D—." It certainly is not by Doddridge, and is not found among the accessible hymns of Davis of Rothwell or Dunthorne. It is in the main a loose paraphrase on Wisd. Sol. iii., 1 flg. There is no mention of it in Julian.

Jas. Mearns.

*

The newly discovered treatise of Robert Browne, mentioned elsewhere, is addressed to a Mr. Flower, whom the writer calls "Uncle." If taken literally this would indicate that the person so called was either a brother of Browne's mother or had married a sister of one or other parent. But no such name appears in the genealogy of the Brownes of Tolethorpe, or in that of Sir Philip Boteler of Hertfordshire, who was R. Browne's maternal grandfather. Unless, therefore, "Uncle" is a mere complimentary appellation, the relationship must have been through Browne's wife, Alice Allen of Yorkshire, whose family has not hitherto been identified. Yorkshire genealogists may settle this matter if they can discover a "Mr Flower" living in 1588-9, who had a niece Alice Allen, marriageable about ten years earlier.

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

No. 6.] [SEPTEMBER, 1904.

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The Congregational Historical Society

Fourth Annual Meeting

The fourth Annual Meeting was held in the Memorial Hall, in the Council Chamber of the United Temperance Council, on Wednesday, May 11, 1904, at 3 p.m., Rev. Dr. Brown in the chair. Between 30 and 40 members were present.

Prayer was offered by Rev. C. H. DAVIES. The minutes of last meeting, having been already published, were taken as read.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the report, of which the following is a summary :—

" During the year one issue of *Transactions* has been published; also a reprint of Browne's *Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for Anie;* and the hitherto unpublished *New Years Guift*, lately identified in the British Museum. This document had been carefully edited by Mr. Burrage, by whom it was discovered ; and the publication was somewhat costly owing to his care for minute accuracy. One of our members, Mr. Dixon of Northampton, has also discovered the register of Browne's burial, in the parish of St. Giles in that town, October 8, 1633.

At our meeting at Bournemouth in October Mr. Brownen read a paper on *Nonconformity in Hampshire*, which has been published in the *Transactions.* This paper is an excellent sample of what should be done for most or all of the counties, so that maps might be prepared of each, similar to that which has been done of Hampshire.

During the year we have lost one member by death, Rev. C. Knibbs of Torquay, and seven by resignation. Nineteen new members have been enrolled, making the present number 175. But of this number several are in arrear with their subscriptions, which in a few cases may possibly indicate tacit resignation.

A suggestion of exchange of publications with the Wesley Historical Society deserves consideration. It is also worthy of consideration whether the price of publications to non-members should not be raised, as the present rate barely covers the cost of production."

The HONORARY TREASURER read his financial statement as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand April 1, 1903	94	7	4
Arrears of subscriptions	3	10	2
Subscriptions for 1903	51	5	0
Subscriptions for 1904	14	10	0
Sales	2	11	0
	71	16	2
	£166	3	6

	£	s.	d.
Printing *Treatise of Reformation*	11	16	6
Printing *Transactions*, No. 5	21	6	2
Printing *New Years Guift*	25	18	0
Honorarium to Mr. Burrage	6	6	0
Sundry printing, postage, &c.	16	9	10
Hire of room	1	1	0
Subscription to Friends' Historical Society ...	0	5	0
Total payments ...	83	2	6
In hand April 1, 1904	83	1	0
	£166	3	6

The adoption of the report and financial statement was proposed by Mr. DAVIS, seconded by Mr. DAWSON, and carried.

Proposed by Mr. LOVETT, seconded by Rev. H. E. LEWIS, and agreed :—"That in future the price of *Transactions* to non-members be 2s., and that no *Transactions* be issued to those members whose subscriptions are in arrears."

The Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretaries were re-elected without discussion.

The following were constituted the Committee for 1904-5 :—

S. B. Atkinson, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
J. Avery, Esq.
Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A.
H. N. Dixon, Esq., M.A., F.L.S.
Rev. C. S. Horne, M.A.
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J. D. McClure, Esq., LL.D.
Rev. W. Pierce, M.A.
P. H. Silcock, Esq., B.A.
Rev. W. H. Summers M.A.
W. Tuck, Esq.

It was agreed that *Transactions* should be issued twice a year, usually in April and September.

Mr. WATKINSON undertook to transcribe Penry's *Aequitie of an Humble Supplication* for publication, from the copy in Williams's Library.*

In conversation, approval was generally given to a suggestion that an effort should be made to get lists of documents possessed by churches of earlier date than 1750.

Thanks were voted to the United Temperance Council for the use of the room.

* NOTE BY SECRETARY.—On application at Williams's Library for this purpose it was discovered that the copy of Penry's *Aequitie* supposed to be there had been missing for several years. I have therefore communicated with Rev. Dr. Vernon Bartlet of Oxford, who has promised that he will endeavour to get a transcript of the Bodleian copy.

Gainsborough Old Hall and the Pilgrim Church

[Being a paper read in the Old Hall, Gainsborough, on June 11th, 1902, at the celebration of the tercentenary of the Pilgrim Church, founded in 1602, the President of the Congregational Historical Society, Mr. J. D. McClure, M.A., LL.D., in the chair.]

IN *The Mill on the Floss* George Eliot gives a beautifully-worded picture of St. Oggs, which we have no difficulty in recognising as Gainsborough. "It is one of those old. old towns," she says, "which impress one as a continuation and outgrowth of nature, as much as the nests of the bower birds, or the winding galleries of the white ants; a town which carries the traces of its long growth and history like a millenial tree. and has sprung up and developed in the same spot between the river and the low hill from the time when the Roman legions turned their backs on it from the camp on the hill side, and the long-haired sea-kings came up the river and looked with fierce, eager eyes at the fatness of the land. It is a town 'familiar with forgotten years.' The shadow of the Saxon hero-king still walks there. fitfully reviewing the scenes of his youth and love time, and is met by the gloomier shadow of the dreadful heathen Dane, who was stabbed in the midst of his warriors by the sword of an invisible avenger, and who rises on autumn evenings like a white mist from the tumulus on the hill, and hovers in the court of the old hall by the river side—the spot where he was miraculously slain in the days before the Old Hall was built. It was the Normans who began to build that fine old hall, which is like the town, telling of the thoughts and

hands of widely-sundered generations; but it is all so old that we look with loving pardon at its inconsistencies, and are well content that they who built the stone oriel, and they who built the Gothic façade, and towers of finest small brickwork with the trefoil ornament, and the windows and battlements defined with stone, did not sacrilegiously pull down the ancient half-timbered body, with its oak-roofed banqueting hall."

Architecturally the baronial hall is difficult to describe. The style of construction is so varied that no consistent design can be traced. Its main features are in fact so inconsistent that it is evident that different parts have been erected at different periods. The banqueting hall is the oldest part of the building, the north front appearing to be exactly the same date as the Gainsborough church tower (just before 1377,) although it may be later. It is usually assigned to about 1450. The church tower is dated by the king's head at the west door, which is that of Edward III.—an old king with a long beard. The brick part of the building is generally put as late as Elizabeth. Stark,* whose knowledge of Gainsborough is well-known to us, gives an excellent description of the Old Hall. "It forms," he says, "three parts of a quadrangle, open to the south. The whole front is principally constructed of large oak timber framing; but much of the back part of the building, as well as the whole of both wings, is of brick, very beautifully put together. Part of the front, and perhaps some portion of the west angle, are supposed to have been erected so early as the time of Stephen,† with which its style pretty nearly coincides. . . . . About the centre of the

* *History and Antiquities of Gainsborough*, by Adam Stark. Lincoln, 1843.

† It is certain that no portion of the present building was erected as early as the time of Stephen.

north side of the building there remains a considerable portion of a highly-finished oriel window, the mullions of which, however, are much defaced, and the coloured glass with which it was filled, according to tradition, has long been entirely removed. . . From the similarity in the style and decoration of this window it has been supposed to have been erected by the same architect,* who was employed in building the tower of the church. . . . . The remaining portion of the west angle appears to have been built by Sir Thomas Burgh, in the time of Henry VII.; indeed, according to Leland, no small portion of the then building was raised by that gentleman, as he is stated to have built 'most of the motid Manorhouse, at the west end of the church yard.' At the end of the west wing the crest of Sir Thomas still remains. . . . . The east wing was added by William Hickman. The end of the wing is ornamented with a dial upon which are the initials W.H., and the legend *Deus mi—ut umbra sic vita*, as well as the date 1600. At the north-eastern angle stands the tower. It is about eighty feet in height, is built entirely of brick, and finished in a most masterly manner, the bricks being all well smoothed and excellently joined. The trefoil ornament is here very conspicuous, and the whole bears evident marks of the utmost care having been bestowed upon it. In the eastern wing are several fine rooms with a flat wooden ceiling and a fine stone chimney piece, carved in which is the Burgh crest."

A moat which formerly surrounded the Hall was filled up about a century ago. The building has served the purposes of a theatre, a workshop, and a mechanics' institute. It was restored and repaired in 1849, and in the north-west corner of

* This architect cannot be Richard de Gainsborough, as has been suggested. Gainsborough died 1306. See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1876, vol. 1, p. 125.

the banqueting hall is a tablet referring to the work, and bearing the following inscription :—

> This Ancient Hall, the successive residence of the Earl of Pembroke, and of the Talbot, Burgh, and Hickman families, was restored and repaired in the year 1849, by Henry Bacon Hickman, of Thonock Hall, youngest son of the late Sir Edmund Bacon, premier Baronet of England.

If we return to the history of the manor we find, as is customary, that it is closely connected with the history of the town. Gainsborough was at one time confined to the Hall and adjacent buildings ; the rich historical associations of the town are therefore inseparable from, nay, are indeed a part of, the history of the Hall. Like most manor houses the Hall stands on the site of an earlier building. When the first building was erected cannot be ascertained, but, as Gainsborough was the headquarters of the Gainas, the hall of the Gaini earls was in all probability the forerunner of this building. The site has been held in property or occupied by the lords of the manor of Gainsborough ever since the Saxon times. It is at least a tenable theory that in the Old Hall Alfred married his wife, Ethelswitha, being the daughter of Ethelred (*comes Gainorum*), ealdorman of the Gainas ; and it is practically certain that Sweyn died in the Old Hall, and that there Canute was proclaimed king. Some say Sweyn's death took place at the pillared house. The *Peterborough Chronicle** says it took place *apud Gainesburghiam in aula*—in the hall (or the court) at Gainsborough. Florence of Worcester † graphically describes it :—

* *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles, *Caxton Soc.* London, 1845.

† *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, translated from the Latin with notes and illustrations by Thomas Forester (Bohn series). 1854, p. 123.

"The tyrant Sweyn, in addition to his endless and cruel atrocities, both in England and other countries, filled up the measure of his damnation by daring to exact an enormous tribute from the town where rests the uncorrupt body of the precious martyr Edmund; a thing which no one had dared to do since the time the town was given to the church of that saint. He frequently threatened that if the tribute were not speedily paid he would burn the town and its inhabitants, level to the ground the church of the martyr, and inflict various tortures on the clergy. Moreover, he often disparaged the martyr's merits, presuming to say that there was no sanctity attached to him; but thus setting no bounds to his frowardness, divine vengeance did not suffer the blasphemer to continue in existence. Towards evening of the day on which he had held a general Thing Court at Gainsborough, repeating his threats while surrounded by throngs of Danes, he alone of the crowd saw St. Edmund coming towards him with a threatening aspect. Struck with terror at this spectacle, he began to shout with great vehemence: 'Help, comrades, help! lo, St. Edmund is at hand to slay me.' While he spoke the saint thrust his spear fiercely through him, and he fell from the war-horse on which he was seated, and, suffering excruciating torments until twilight, died in agony on the third of the nones [the 3rd] of February [1014.]" Later than this, the Hall was called the *Palace*, because it is said to have been used as such by John of Gaunt. There appears to be no evidence in support of this suggestion.

Want of space forbids me to do more than briefly mention the lords of the manor. Geoffrey de Wirce held it in the time of the Conqueror, and Nigel d'Albini in the time of William Rufus. He

was succeeded by Roger d'Albini, the founder of Byland Abbey, who went with Louis VII. to the Holy Land, and he was followed by William de Romara, Lord of Bolingbroke, created Earl of Lincoln by Stephen. William Talbot was the subsequent owner, and it remained in his family for about a century. Next came William de Valence, son of Hugh Brunne, Earl of March, half-brother of Henry III., whose successor was his more illustrious son Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Guardian of Scotland. In 1319, Edward II. visited Gainsborough and was entertained by him. "The whole period of the two Edwards," says Dean Stanley in the *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, "is well summed up in the tomb of Aymer de Valence, cousin of Edward I. —the tall pale man nicknamed by Gaveston 'Joseph the Jew'—the ruthless destroyer of Nigel Bruce, of Piers Gaveston, and of Thomas of Lancaster. If the Scots could never forgive him for the death of Nigel, neither could the English for the death of the almost canonized Earl of Lancaster. 'No Earl of Pembroke,' it was believed, 'ever saw his father afterwards,' and his mysterious death in France was regarded as a judgment for 'consenting to the death of St. Thomas.' Pembroke College at Cambridge was founded by his widow to commemorate the terrible bereavement which, according to tradition, befel her on her wedding day." The Earl died without issue, and the manor fell into the hands of the Comyns, and afterwards of the Burghs, Thomas Burgh having married Lord Comyn's sister. When Henry VIII. and the Queen Catherine Howard made a tour—in 1541—through the counties of York and Lincoln, they were received in the eastern wing by Lord Burgh, and stayed there several nights. In passing it is interesting to note that the family of Burgh

maintained considerable state, as is evidenced by the royal visit. The Burghs held the manor until 1596, when Lord Burgh sold it to William Hickman in whose family it has since remained.

Mention of the Hickman family naturally leads us to the formation of that Separatist church from which sprang the Pilgrim Fathers. The company which met at Gainsborough consisted largely of small farmers "of several towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some in Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together." Among the members of that historic church were William Brewster of the manor house, Scrooby, agent to Archbishop Sandys, and William Bradford, of Austerfield, the future historian and governor of Plymouth Colony, whose name is the brightest in the bright annals of New Plymouth. Here in Gainsborough in 1602, under the leadership of John Smyth. Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, and afterwards of John Robinson, the faithful pastor who never saw the promised land, they formed that church which has had such enormous influence on English and American history for the past three hundred years. They selected Gainsborough for the meeting place probably for the same reason that the Danes selected it hundreds of years before, viz., because it offered good opportunities of leaving the country in times of "sudden distress." A second and perhaps weightier reason is found in the fact that the then lord of the manor of Gainsborough, William Hickman, whose influence in the district was great, was known to be in secret sympathy with the Puritans. His parents, Rose and Anthony Hickman, appear to have suffered for their Puritan tendencies. Rose Hickman, who was the daughter of Sir William Locke, has left a manuscript, which is preserved at Thonock Hall, which shews her

strong religious character, and gives a vivid picture not only of her and her husband's trials, but also of the troublous times of Mary. One of her sons, Anthony Hickman, was elected Fellow of Corpus Christi by mandate from the Queen. This aroused strong opposition from the Master, Dr. Copcot, who was said to be prejudiced because Hickman was "well-affected towards the Puritans."* One writer has imagined William Brewster, William Bradford, and the rest of the brethren from Scrooby, crossing the Trent to Gainsborough to converse "about the things of the Kingdom." May we not go a little further and imagine that they met in the Old Hall, and held "sweet communion" together under the protection, even though he himself did not join them, of the son of the venerable Rose Hickman? It is a pleasure to imagine this, and it is surely not too great a flight of imagination to suggest it. Sir William's parents had held conventicles in their house, and it is more than probable that he, sympathetically inclined as he was, would allow the little church to meet there. Later, we do know, the theological descendants of the first church met here, from 1781 to 1793, when the church records say "the membership was 38 and the income £36."

Just before that time John Wesley, in his evangelical pilgrimage, visited Gainsborough, and, his journal tells us, preached in Sir Nevil Hickman's great hall. "It was filled," he says, "with a rude, wild multitude (a few of the better spirit excepted,) yet all but two or three gentlemen were attentive, while I enforced our Lord's words. . . . . I was walking backward through a gaping crowd when Sir Nevil came and thanked me for

* Cooper (E. H. and T.) *Athenae Cantebrigienses*, 1500-1609. 2 vols., 1858-61, vol. 2, p. 232.

my sermon, to the no small amazement of his neighbours, who shrank back as if they had seen a ghost."

E. McKnight.

Congregationalism in Birmingham

(From material supplied by James Rutherford)

II

WE now turn to the churches which arose independently of Carr's Lane. Handsworth, now practically a suburb of Birmingham, is a large parish in Staffordshire which adjoins the municipal boundary at a point on the north of the city. Here a chapel, built at the cost of two gentlemen, was opened on the 16th January, 1789. It was supplied by ministers of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion for about fifteen years, but was then closed for two years, owing to a scandal. In 1805 this building, called *Union Chapel*, was re-opened as a Congregational church, of which Rev. John Hammond, who had studied under Dr. Williams at Rotherham, was chosen minister. The church was organized, and Mr. Hammond was ordained in September, 1806. He held the pastorate for fifty-one years, and retired in 1857, but survived to 1869, dying at the age of 94. His successor was Rev. Robert Ann, who exercised a successful ministry for twenty-eight years. In 1859 he, with a few friends, commenced open-air services on a cinder bank in the district between Handsworth and Smethwick. There was neither school nor church, and the moral condition of the neighbourhood was deplorable. As winter approached permission was obtained to hold services and Sunday school in an unoccupied shed. In 1870 a room was built in Slough Lane ; but this was soon sold, and in 1875 a mission room was built on a much more advantageous site at *Winson Green*, within the borough. At this time the mission was under the care of Mr. Isaiah Richards, one of the Handsworth deacons. On his retirement through failure of health, in 1881, the work was taken up by Mr. Heath Lemon, a revenue officer, who after useful work as a Wesleyan local preacher had resuscitated, and for several years ministered to, a Congregational church at Abbots Bromley. Under his ministrations the mission prospered exceedingly. A church was built in 1883 ; the school buildings were greatly extended in 1894 ; and further additions were made in 1898. For reasons connected with his official duties Mr. Lemon preferred to retain the anomalous position of " lay pastor " ; but the church became independent

of Handsworth in 1897, having now 165 members, with above 500 Sunday scholars and 35 teachers. Mr. Ann removed to Tenby in 1886; his successors were Revs. G. C. Postans, 1887-90; E. Tongue, 1891-99; and Granville Sharp, 1899- . New schools were built in 1897.

Erdington lies within the parish of Aston. The parish church, nearly three miles off, being the nearest place of worship, services were commenced in the village in 1814 by Methodists and adherents of the Established Church, who erected the building known as the Club House in Bell Lane. In 1820 the building passed into the hands of zealous Episcopalians, and Rev. Mark Mogridge, (brother of the once famous "Old Humphrey,") ministered for about seven years. In 1828 an Independent church was formally constituted, and the liturgical service discontinued. Rev. David Lewis was the first pastor under the new order, followed by Rev. W. Salt from Lichfield, and Rev. C. Greenway from Cannock. During the pastorate of the last-named, in 1839, the present chapel was built. Rev. G. Forwood, a retired missionary, occupied the pulpit from 1843-46, and Rev. Professor Watts from 1846-50. He was succeeded by Rev. H. J. Heathcote, from Coleraine, one of the first class of students at Spring Hill College and the last survivor of the band. At the commencement of his ministry the arrangements at Erdington still bore much of the character impressed on them by the circumstances under which the church originated; but under his guidance many changes were effected, and the arrangements assimilated to those which usually obtain in Congregational churches. After twenty two years Mr. Heathcote was compelled by infirmity to cease from preaching, whereupon a testimonial amounting to £800 was presented to him by public subscription. He afterwards rendered valuable service for many years as agent for Spring Hill College and the English Chapel Building Society, and still survives in honoured retirement at Teignmouth. The more recent ministers at Erdington were Revs. J. Taylor, from Torquay, 1873-80; W. H. Dickenson, from Bicester, 1881-86; J. H. Belcher, from New College, London, 1886-92; and E. A. Anthony, from Cheshunt College, 1892- . During the past few years the buildings have been considerably altered and enlarged. There are about 100 church members, 175 scholars, and 23 teachers.

In 1820 services were conducted in *Ashted Row* by Mr. J. S. Green, an adherent of the Established Church. These were so well attended that Mr. Green built a chapel in *Saltley Road*, which was opened in 1825 by Rev. J. A. James. At first the service was liturgical, but after a few years this was discontinued. Rev. Mark H. Mogridge from Erdington was the first pastor; one or two others followed him for short terms. Afterwards the pulpit was occupied for twenty years by lay preachers, mostly from Carr's

Lane, with an interval of about three years, 1842-5, when Rev. C. Greenway from Erdington was pastor. In 1853 Rev. A. J. Duffield assumed the pastorate, and after three years he was succeeded by Mr. Geo. Ingall, whose fruitful ministry for thirty-six years, during which time he was also engaged in professional duties of a secular character, won for him a place in the esteem and affection of all who knew him. In 1857 the church was reconstituted with 30 members, and in the twenty years that followed more than 400 were admitted. In 1868 the old chapel gave place to the present structure, and new schools have since been erected. In 1872 a Sunday morning school for adults was commenced in Lingard Street board school. Mr. Ingall resigned under medical advice in 1892. His successors have been Rev. A. A. J. Andrews, 1892-95, and Rev. G. Palmer Lewis, 1896-1903. The membership is 247, with 450 scholars and 48 teachers. A mission was commenced in *Arden Road* in 1883, which is continued with some incidental disadvantages in the board school. It has been independent of Saltley Road church since 1899.

A few members of the Wesleyan Society had commenced building a chapel in *Legge Street*, but for some unexplained reason gave it up, in an unfinished condition, for the purpose of an Independent church. It was opened and a church organized in 1826. The first minister was Rev. J. Griffiths from Hoxton College, and subsequently of Nuneaton, who after ten years was advised to remove with his congregation to Livery Street chapel, then vacant. This ill-advised proceeding led to the dispersion of the Legge Street congregation without any compensatory advantage to that in Livery Street. A remnant of the people, however, clung to Legge Street, and after some months of struggle with adverse circumstances they sought counsel of Rev. J. A. James. By his advice the church was dissolved, and the Carr's Lane Mission Committee took the place in hand. In 1838 a new church was organized, with Rev. Peter Sibree as pastor. He remained there twenty-five years; at first there were many signs of hopeful progress, but these were followed by many fluctuations, occasioned in part by changes in the ownership of Aston Hall, which at length from a residential mansion became a public museum. When Mr. Sibree died in 1863 there were only 55 members. They applied for advice and aid to the Warwickshire Congregational Union, and £40 a year was promised towards a minister's stipend. Rev. J. Richards came from Bicester in 1864, but after a long illness in 1865 removed in 1866. Mr. J. Hotchkiss was pastor in 1867-69, then Ebenezer church adopted Legge Street as a mission, but with little satisfaction. In 1872 it was sold, and the proceeds devoted to the building of a new church in Aston.

In 1858 a few Christians of various denominations met to con-

sider what could be done to supply the religious needs of the rapidly growing population at Balsall Heath. A room in King Street was rented and furnished, and a congregation of about 140 was gathered. This mission kept alive a desire for more adequate provision, and in 1861 a site was secured in *Moseley Road* for a church to be erected as a memorial of the ejected ministers of 200 years before. The foundation was laid by Dr. Dale, and the church was opened in the bicentennial year, 1862. The first minister was Rev. Reuen Thomas, who only remained about two years. He went to America, and is now the well-known pastor of a church in Boston. His successors were Revs. Matt. Macfie, F.R.G.S., 1865-70; Thos. Anthony, 1871-83; Geo. Type, 1884-1902. During Mr. Type's ministry additional school room was provided and the debt cleared; a mission hall was acquired in Ladypool Road; and board schools in Clifton Road were rented for Sunday school purposes. The membership is about 360, and the schools, including branches, have 900 scholars and 84 teachers.

After the opening of the Moseley Road church the need for the King Street mission was still felt to be urgent. Mr. T. J. Moore, a Wesleyan, and one of the workers there, built a school-chapel, to seat 300, in *Balsall Heath Road*, and the work was transferred thither. It prospered until, in 1864, a premature attempt was made to organize a church. Mr. Moore offered the building as a free gift, but for some reason it was declined. He then offered it to the Wesleyans; they used it for a few years, until their church in Moseley Road was built, after which it was sold to the Baptists.

About 1859 mission services were commenced in *Small Heath* by some young men from Palmer Street, under the leadership of Messrs. Jos. Derrington and Hine. They began in Hawkes Street, and afterwards a schoolroom was erected in Wright Street. A church was constituted in 1863. Rev. W. J. B. Roome was chosen pastor, but only remained two years. For some time the pulpit was variously supplied, under the kindly oversight of Rev. S. M. Coombes, who after seven years' ministry in Ireland and fourteen at Gornal had come to reside in Birmingham in 1866. Rev. S. Thodey Allen, who for two years had been assistant to Mr. Feaston at Lozells, became pastor in 1866. The new church in Coventry Road was opened in 1868, but was heavily burdened with debt. The County Union aided the work by yearly grants until the church became self-supporting. Mr. Allen remained until 1882, when he removed to Yeovil. His successor was Rev. M. G. Astbury from Blackburn, formerly at Halesowen. He laboured faithfully, notwithstanding some discouragement, for nearly eight years, then ministered for a few years in an iron church in Waverley Road, and finally accepted a call to Clemens Street, Leamington, where he died. In 1891 Rev. N. M. Hennessey (for some time at the "Church of the Saviour," but latterly conducting services in the Midland Institute,)

succeeded Mr. Astbury, but recently relinquished the pastorate, having accepted an invitation to Pitt Street, Sydney, N.S.W. There are at present about 150 members, 400 scholars, and 31 teachers.

A number of Welsh Congregationalists were settled in Birmingham about 1860. In that year twelve young persons (all unmarried except one lady) were constituted into a Welsh church by Rev. John Jones of Smithcote. They worshipped at the Moor Street temperance hotel. In 1862 they shared with a Welsh church in Wolverhampton in the ministrations of Rev. John Cadwaladr. This lasted about two years, when Mr. Cadwaladr went to America. Then Rev. R. E. Williams from Ruthin became pastor, and soon afterwards the congregation removed to a room in Ann Street, now called Colmore Row. In 1868 they again removed to the room now used as a schoolroom in *Wheeler Street*; and in 1872 the present chapel was opened for worship. Meanwhile Mr. Williams had returned to Wales, and was succeeded by Rev. James Camlais Evans from Brecon College (now at Gilfachgoch), 1867-69, and Rev. John Lewis from Cowen (now at Bagillt), 1870-1888. The present minister, Rev. Hywel Edwards, from Derwen Las, near Machynlleth, settled in 1890. There are about 130 members, with 80 scholars and 12 teachers. The choir has gained some celebrity, having won several prizes in choral competition.

A new era of church extension commenced in November 1871, when a "Birmingham Chapel Building Society" was instituted. Its first aim was to establish a new church in the neighbourhood of Aston Road. In 1872 the society purchased a site at *Aston Park*, and built the church at a total cost of £5,646, towards which the churches of the town contributed generously, the sale price of Legge Street chapel being devoted to the same object. The building was opened on the 27th October, 1874, and services were conducted for two months by ministers of the town, Congregational and Baptist. On January 1, 1875, the society appointed Mr. J. H. Toms, of Spring Hill College, to take charge of the congregation for three years. His work so prospered that in October, 1877, a church of 109 members was constituted, which called Mr. Toms to the pastorate, and took over the remaining debt of about £1,000. A schoolroom was built in 1878, the organ was placed in 1883, and the church became self-supporting. But the following year failure of health led Mr. Toms to remove to Australia, where he has held successful pastorates at Geelong and Brisbane, and is now at Manley, N.S.W. The present pastor, Rev. F. Moore from Manchester, began his work 1st June, 1886. From 1892 to 1901 mission services were conducted in the Aston Lane board schools. All debts were cleared by the end of 1901. The present membership is about 220; there are 630 scholars and 49 teachers.

From 1874 to 1877 the Chapel Building Society strove to obtain a suitable site in *Sutton Coldfield*. At length a local building committee was formed, and in July, 1879, services were commenced in the town hall. The church was opened in 1880; the first minister was the Rev. T. Mirams. He was followed in 1884 by Rev. Jos. Shillito from Lozells church, who exercised a fruitful ministry for twelve years. Rev. F.W. Collyer, from Oxford, succeeded on Mr. Shillito's retirement, and still remains. Large extensions have recently been completed at a cost of £4,000. Cottage services were commenced at *Wylde Green* in 1897, which were afterwards transferred to an iron room on a freehold site, and plans are in hand for a suitable chapel. The membership at Sutton is 170, with 40 at Wylde Green, where a separate church has lately been constituted, and Rev. F. Coram from Wellington, Salop, has undertaken the pastorate. The Chapel Building Society held its final meeting in 1881.

Services were commenced in Perry Barr Institute in January, 1875, by Mr. J. A. Cooper, a deacon and trustee of Ebenezer church, aided by many members at Lozells. In 1878, Mr. W. Webb, a deacon at Lozells, gave a site in *Westminster Road*, on which a church was built and opened in 1879. In October of that year Rev. Walter Searle took charge of the work, and in January, 1882, a church of 103 members was organized. The grant hitherto received from the County Union was then relinquished. School premises were built in 1886; Mr. Searle resigned in 1893 and went to South Africa. Rev. G. Campbell Morgan succeeded, and removed to London in February, 1897. His ministry was attractive, large congregations responding to the preaching which has made him so widely known in America as well as in England. Rev. Charles Deeble, from Torrington, accepted the pastorate in October, 1897, and has successfully carried on a ministry which has been rendered difficult by constant migration of the residents to more distant suburbs. The school buildings were completed in October, 1900, and earlier in the same year a mission room was opened in *Franchise Street, Perry Bar*. The membership at Westminster Road is 435; there are 620 scholars and 42 teachers.

The little church at Yardley was early awake to the spiritual needs of the neighbouring hamlet of *Hay Mill*, where in 1885 members of that church began a Sunday school. Two years later a local resident, Mr. Thomas Penfield, commenced regular services in a small room. The work prospered, and a church was formed, which was recognised by the County Union in 1895. The formation of a building committee soon followed; a site was purchased by the Scott trustees [see under "Carr's Lane;"] a school-chapel was opened in 1900, and in October of that year Rev. A. E. Jones from Nottingham College was ordained as pastor. There are about 50 church members; with 420 scholars and 23 teachers.

The Scott trustees, perceiving the necessity for a church in the rapidly growing district of *Stoney Lane*, bought a site in 1893. The building was opened in March, 1896. Friends connected with Moseley Road, who had been working at Clifton Road schools, formed the nucleus of a congregation. Rev. John Loosmore from Eastwood (Notts.), undertook the charge in September of that year, and the next month a church of 58 members was constituted. There are already 420 scholars and 23 teachers. Additional buildings have been erected.

The latest enterprise in the way of church extension is at *King's Norton*. Services were commenced on Tuesday evenings in October, 1901, in the Friends' Hall. A local building committee was formed under the auspices of the associated Congregational churches; a large site was purchased and a lecture hall built, which was opened in November, 1902, where a church has been constituted, and Rev. J. O. Morgans is the first pastor.

Having reviewed the several churches of the Congregational order in and around the city, we come to some institutions in which they are jointly concerned. A local auxiliary to the London Missionary Society was formed in 1814, Rev. J. A. James being secretary. Before this Birmingham had sent its first messenger of peace to the heathen, Rev. Edward Pritchett having been ordained for Burmah as early as 1809. A long procession of devoted missionaries has followed, men and women, more than forty in number, who have gone forth from the Birmingham churches to "tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King." Only a few of the most prominent names can be given: Micaiah Hill and J. B. Warden, of Calcutta, both of whom left sons who in after years did good service in Birmingham churches; George Pritchard, of Tahiti, afterwards H.M. Consul at Samoa; B. Hobson, M.D., of Canton, the son-in-law of Morrison; D. G. Watts, the first missionary of the Spring Hill students, Benares; Mr. and Mrs. Coles, of Mysore; Mr. and Mrs. Fairbrother, of Shanghai; Mr. and Mrs. Saville, of Huabine, whose son and daughter are now witnessing for Christ in New Guinea and China respectively; T. E. Slater; I. H. Hacker; Mr. and Mrs. B. Lucas, and the sisters Ada and Rose Marris, of India; T. F. Shaw, of Central Africa; and, to add no more, Edith Coombs and F. S. Whitehouse, who laid down their lives for Christ in China.

Spring Hill College originated in the munificence of a wealthy family connected with Ebenezer Chapel. George Storer Mansfield was born at Derby in 1764, and lived the greater part of his life in Leicestershire, where he had considerable landed property. In 1824 he came to reside with his sisters, Sarah Glover and Elizabeth Mansfield, at their house on Spring Hill. He was of a retiring disposition, and passed a somewhat secluded life, but shared the actively religious spirit of his sisters, who were abundant in good

works. Desiring to employ their property for the future benefit of the community, they first provided funds for a trust called "The Birmingham Evangelical Association for the Propagation of the Gospel," now known as the Glover Trust, the terms of which were subsequently varied. Two years later a new trust was established under the name of Spring Hill College Charity. The suggestion of this foundation is said to have come from Rev. Timothy East, with whom the family were on terms of close intimacy. The properties forming the first endowment of the college were put in trust in March, 1826, and Mr. Mansfield died in November of the following year. His sisters largely aided the project both by gifts and personal exertion; and, that it might be realised in their lifetime, surrendered their own house to form a provisional residence for the students, beside contributing above £500 a year for five or six years toward working expenses. The college was not formally opened till 2nd October, 1838. Rev. T. East was treasurer, Rev. J. A. James, chairman of the board of education, Rev. J. Hammond and T. Beilby, Esq., secretaries. The scheme was for a six years' course of study, of which four years were to be devoted to theology; and was much more comprehensive than could be satisfactorily carried out by the limited staff for which provision had been made. As has often happened, an attempt was made to ensure the eternal orthodoxy of the college by imposing a theological test on the members of the executive committee. This, beside the evangelical doctrine of the Trinity, included "the plenary inspiration of the holy Scriptures," a phrase which has proved as elastic as the least conservative Christian believer could desire. The tutors were Rev. T. R. Barker for classics, Hebrew, and philology; Henry Rogers for logic, philosophy, and English literature; and Fras. Watts for theology, including exegesis and homiletics. Mr. Barker was resident tutor; he had been educated at Christ's Hospital and under Dr. Pye-Smith at Homerton. Mr. Rogers had for a short time held the classical chair at Highbury College; he is best remembered as the author of *The Eclipse of Faith*. Mr. Watts had been a student under Dr. Pye-Smith at Homerton, and under Tholuck at Halle. The first students were Edward Hill, Eustace R. Conder, David Rowe, John Hossack, Fred. W. Heathcote, H. J. Heathcote, William Guest, James Phipps, and John Hayes. Some of these have left names which posterity will not willingly let die. It may be remarked in passing that the foundresses lived to see the college in full working order. Miss Mansfield died in 1847, at the age of 75, and Mrs. Glover in 1853, at the venerable age of 86.

It soon became evident that the accommodation at Spring Hill was inadequate, even with such structural additions as were possible. As early as 1840 it was resolved to build on a new site which was bought at Moseley, but it was not until September,

1854, that the foundation of the new college was laid. The students removed thither in November, 1856, and the formal opening was celebrated on 24th June, 1857. In December of that year Messrs. Watts and Rogers resigned, the former through infirmity, the latter to become principal of Lancashire Independent College, Manchester. Mr. Henry Goward, M.A., was now appointed assistant tutor, and classes in dogmatic and pastoral theology, homiletics, and logic, were temporarily conducted by Revs. J. A. James, Geo. Redford, D.D. (lately retired from Worcester,) and R. W. Dale. But the death of Dr. Redford and Mr. James necessitated a new arrangement, and in September, 1860, Mr. Goward was appointed to a chair of mathematics and English literature, and Rev. R. Alliott, LL.D., late principal of Cheshunt College, to the chair of theology. Dr. Alliott resigned in September, 1863, and died soon after. He was succeeded by Rev. G. Bubier, lately pastor at Cambridge ; but his health soon failed, and he died in March, 1869. Mr. Barker's health was also declining, and the situation was becoming difficult, when Mr. Goward generously tendered his resignation, in order to facilitate such new arrangements as might seem expedient. After some delay the chairs were filled as follows :—Rev. T. R. Barker, exegesis and Hebrew ; Rev. D. W. Simon, Ph.D., from Berlin, theology and philosophy ; Rev. G. Deane, D.Sc., mathematics and natural science ; J. Massie, Esq., M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, classics. Fresh difficulties arose within a short time ; Mr. Barker, who for upwards of 32 years had given the college the incalculable service of his learning, wisdom, and piety, died suddenly on 23rd November, 1870. Dr. Simon's health broke down, and from 1872-74 he was able to perform only very intermittent duties. In 1876 he relinquished the post of resident tutor to Dr. Deane. Already a suggestion had been made that the college should be removed to Oxford, but this took definite form only when, in June, 1884, Dr. Simon accepted an invitation to become principal of the Scottish Theological Hall at Edinburgh. Temporary arrangements were then made for the chair thus vacated, Revs. R. A. Redford, of New College, London, and W. F. Clarkson, of Birmingham, giving valuable aid. On 7th May, 1885, the subscribers, with one solitary dissentient, agreed to a scheme for discontinuing the college, and re-constituting it as a non-resident theological hall at Oxford, with Dr. Fairbairn, from Airedale College, Bradford, as president. The Charity Commissioners gave the needful consent ; on 17th September the scheme of management was sealed ; and Spring Hill College was finally closed in June, 1886, the building being afterwards sold to a private person. Dr. Deane retired, but Mr. Massie and three students went to Oxford with Dr. Fairbairn. Of the rest, four students went to Cheshunt, two to Glasgow, and one to Brecon.

The affairs of Mansfield College, Oxford, to which the traditions and endowments of Spring Hill were transferred, form no part of the history of Birmingham Congregationalism.

The total number of students who entered the ministry from Spring Hill College, or died during their college course, in the forty-eight years of its existence, was 165, of whom about a dozen subsequently acceded to the Episcopal Church. A considerable proportion of them attained to eminence. Alexander Thomson, D.D., Eustace R. Conder, D.D., R. W. Dale, D.D., LL.D., and William Cuthbertson, B.A., were chairmen of the Congregational Union; H. B. Creak, M.A., R. A. Redford, M.A., J. B. Paton, D.D., Henry Goward, LL.B., and James Ward, M.A., did valuable tutorial work; William Guest will long be remembered, not only as pastor, but as the virtual founder of Milton Mount College; Henry Simon was distinguished as a preacher, a distinction which he shares with *alumni* still living whom it would be invidious to name; and Spring Hill men, both deceased and surviving, have done work in literature and in foreign missions for which the world is richer and happier. It may be added that at least fifty ministers have served, or are serving, English congregations whose original membership was in one or other of the Birmingham Congregational churches.

Three charitable foundations connected with Birmingham Congregationalism deserve a passing notice. *Scott's Trust* has been already mentioned. The original income was only about £40, the property being leased for 120 years, and the lease only expired in 1898. The reversion of a part was sold in 1878 for £25,803, which was so invested as to yield £1,032 per annum; the remainder was sold in 1885 for £5,490. In 1880 a scheme was settled for dealing with the charity. It was divided into two branches, the chapel branch, to which the income of the first sale was devoted, and the education branch, for which the residue of the property was reserved. Of the former, half was secured for the maintenance of Carr's Lane chapel and its ministry, £150 per annum being reserved for repairs, and half for purchase of sites, and building or assisting to build meeting-houses within 20 miles of Birmingham. This voluntary surrender by the Carr's Lane trustees of rights over charitable funds was the first instance of the kind which had been met with by the Charity Commissioners. Since that date, to the end of 1901, nineteen grants had been made for sites and buildings, amounting to about £10,400. The education branch of the charity takes the form of scholarships for children educated in the Birmingham board schools.

Glover's Charity was founded in 1824 by Mrs. Glover and Miss Mansfield, the founders of Spring Hill College. The endowment consists of freehold land. The income has been applied to the erection and maintenance of 28 almshouses for poor, aged, and

infirm widows or spinsters, who receive 3s. a week each, with coals and gas. The falling in of leases in 1904 will considerably increase the income, in the application of which, for evangelistic purposes, the trustees are allowed a wide discretion.

The *Dudley Trust* was founded in 1875 by Mr. William Dudley, merchant and jeweller, who with his wife was a member of Carr's Lane congregation. It consists of the annual income from a gift of £100,000, and is applicable for loans to young tradesmen of good character, benefactions to aged and needy persons who were formerly tradesmen in the borough, and grants in aid of charitable institutions for the relief of suffering.

As already mentioned, the *Congregational Union* has met four times in Birmingham. The meeting in 1839 was the first autumnal meeting held by the Union. It was a very modest gathering, 111 ministers and 37 lay brethren from 28 counties. Rev. Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, presided, and sermons were preached by Dr. Leifchild and Dr. Halley. The principal business was the discussion and adoption of a resolution to "undertake home missions, under the designation of 'The Home Mission of the Congregational Union of England and Wales,'" and the drafting of preliminary arrangements for the proposed work.

At the meeting in 1861 there were present 305 ministers, 129 lay delegates, and 36 divinity students; also delegates from Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and Tasmania. Rev. J. G. Miall, of Bradford, presided, and a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Raleigh. A paper was read by Rev. R. S. Ashton for Mr. Joshua Wilson, on the best way of commemorating the Ejectment of nonconforming ministers in 1662; and it was resolved to call a conference to arrange for the commemoration. Papers were read by the Rev. J. B. Paton, on "The Religious Condition of the Continent," and by Rev. A. M. Henderson, on "The Mutual Relations of Pastors and Families." Resolutions were passed on the recent death of Rev. J. A. James, on Home Missions, and on the Irish Marriage Laws.

The numbers attending the meeting in 1880 are not recorded. Rev. S. Newth, D.D., of New College, London, presided, and the sermon was by Rev. E. R. Conder, D.D. Papers were read by Rev. John Kennedy, D.D., on "The Unity of Congregationalism"; by Rev. G. S. Barrett, on "The Pastoral Duty of Direct Dealing with men in regard to their Spiritual State;" by Rev. J. M. Stott, on "Systematic Scriptural Teaching of the Young"; and by Revs. A. Mearns, E. Armitage, and John Browne, on "The State of the Country in Regard to Religion." Resolutions were passed on the recent Burial Act, on the Opium Trade, on College Reform, and on the approaching Jubilee of the Congregational Union.

The meeting in 1897 was attended by over 1,200 delegates, and was of very varied interest. Delegates were present

from Scotland, Ireland, Canada, British Guiana, Australia, and New Zealand. Rev. C. A. Berry, D.D., of Wolverhampton, was chairman, and Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D., was the preacher. An interesting feature was a message of "brotherly greeting" from the bishop of Worcester (Rev. J. J. S. Perowne, D.D.) Such papers as were read were mostly at sectional meetings. A manifesto was adopted against the "sacerdotal claims and sacramentarian superstitions" fostered within the Established Church. Resolutions were passed on Church Extension and National Education (censuring the reactionary policy of the Government of the day), Arbitration between Employers and Employed, and the John Robinson Memorial Church at Gainsborough. There was a devotional session with communion service, and conferences on Rural Congregationalism, Christian Economics, Women's Work in the Church, and the Theory of Evolution. In connection with the Union there were a valedictory meeting to foreign missionaries, young people's meetings, a working men's meeting, and sermons or meetings in more than twenty neighbouring towns and villages.

A conference of ministers and deacons of Congregational churches in Birmingham was held 1st March, 1892, which led to the formation of a *Birmingham Association of Congregational Churches.* The objects are the cultivation of mutual knowledge and fellowship, advocacy of Congregational principles, church extension, evangelistic work, and home and foreign missions. It now embraces all the churches in the city and surrounding districts; and, in addition to the objects formally specified, has organised a branch of the "Young People's Union," and commenced the publication of a *Birmingham Congregational Year Book.*

In 1801 the population of Birmingham was estimated as 73,670, amidst which there was *one* Congregational church, with *one* pastor, 99 church members, accommodation for 450 hearers (less than one in 163 of the inhabitants), and a Sunday school of about 100 scholars.

In 1901 the population of the city was 522,182, and that of the surrounding districts approximately 283,114, making a total of, in round numbers, 805,300. Amidst this population, city, suburbs, and near vicinity, there are at this time 29 Congregational churches, with 15 branches and missions; 29 pastorates, of which, however, a few are vacant; accommodation for 19,100 worshippers (about one in 42 of inhabitants), 6,285 church members, 948 Sunday school teachers, with about 12,900 scholars, and about 120 lay preachers. Two members of Congregational churches have, within the last three years, held the dignity of Lord Mayor. In the course of the century the population of the district has multiplied by something less than 11; but the Congregational church membership has multiplied by more than 63. Truly "the kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which . . . . becometh a tree, so that the birds . . . . come and lodge in the branches thereof."

Dr. Thomas Gibbons' Diary

II

1755 January—Wed. 29. Spent the whole day at Mile-End, it being the Day of Examination of the Society Students. [Similar entries follow year by year.]

Feb.—Lord's Day. 9. Preached in the Morning from Amos 6. 6, on account of the present Prosecutions [*sic*] in France.

Frid. 14. Spent the Afternoon with Dr. Guyse & Mr. Conder on the Consideration of Rules for the Academy.

Mar.—Sat. 1. I observe that by entering in the Beginning of the Week upon the Composition of Lectures my Time & my Strength are too much taken up in the Affairs of Learning, that my Pulpit Preparations have been within a Week or two too much neglected. My business as a Pastor is first to be taken care of. My Business as a Tutor is only secondary. I design therefore, may God smile upon my Design, which I think is founded in Duty & Prudence, to prepare my Sermons as the first Work in the Week, and then to spare what other Time remains in preparing my Lectures.

April.—Frid. 4. Visited Mr. Bourdillon, a French Minister, and read one of my Sermons to him that I am about publishing relating to the Persecutions in France.

May.—Lord's Day. 18. Preached . . . . in the Afternoon from Eccl. 12. 7, on the Death of the Revd. Mr. Tho. Charlton, the most antient Member of the Church.

June.—Thursd. 5. This Day my Brother Edwd, my Brother [in-law] Atkins, & Self preached at Royston, the first on Death, my Self on Judgment, Rom. 2. 16, & Mr. Atkins on Heaven and Hell. The Lord bless the Word, & give it a divine Fruitfulness.

Wed. 11. My Birthday. Just the Meridian of Life. 35.

It is noticeable that after the change of style he celebrates his birthday on June 11th, instead of May 31st. He was born at Reach, near Newmarket, May 31st (O.S.), 1720. An examination of the "Fund students" on June 19th is followed by that

of the "Society students" on the following day, and this again by a prayer-meeting of the tutors and students on the 21st.

August—Sat. 30. Spent till two o'clock in my study in Fasting and Prayer.

September—Mond. 8. Attended the Academy, & opened the Year with an Address to the Students giving an Account of the intended Services of the Year, & also giving the best Directions I was able, as to an enquiry into Moral & Religious Truth.

October—Lord's Day. 12. Preached . . . . in the Afternoon from Psa. 50. 15, on Account of some melancholy Accounts from America.

During 1755 he resumes the practice of noting the books he had been reading. They include Cambray [Fénélon?] on *Eloquence*, Geddes on *The Composition of the Ancients*, Doddridge's *Paraphrases*, Hervey's *Dialogues and Letters*, a miscellany of poems called the *Union*, *The Miracles of Jesus Vindicated*, and Blackwell's *Sacred Classics*.

1756 January—Wednesday. 7. Attended a Meeting of Ministers and Messengers at Mr. Richardson's on Occasion of his Resignation.

Feb.—Frid. 6. Day for National Fast. Mr. Stafford (a student) begun in Prayer & reading Danl. 9. & Psa. 130. I prayed & Expounded near an Hour the 7 first Verses of the 14 of Hosea. Mr. Bennett prayed, and Read Luke 21. & 2 Pet. 3. I preached from Jer. 14. 20 & 21. Mr. Conder prayed, & I concluded in Prayer. Four Hours in all. I hope it was a good Day to my Soul.

Lord's Day 8. . . . . I preached in the Afternoon from Jer. 14. 20, 21, to finish my Subject, which I left on the Fast Day unfinished.

March.—Mond. 15. Attended the Meeting of Prayer at Mr. King's on the Account of the Affairs of the Nation.

A French invasion was dreaded about this time.

April.—Mond. 5. Attended the Evening Exercise of Prayer for the State of the Nation at my Place. Mr. Hayward, Towle, & Self engaged.

May.—Tuesd. 18. Visited the Speaker of the House of Commons. Saw the solemn Scene of a Declaration of War with France at Mr. Gibson's in Cheapside.

Lord's Day 23. Preached in the Afternoon from Jer. 4. 19 on the Occasion of the Declaration of War with France.

June—Mond. 14. Went [from Beaconsfield] to Cliefden, the Seat of the late Prince of Wales.

July—Wed. 7. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Willm. Porter at Miles'-Lane. Prayed there.

Lord's Day 18. As this Nation is peculiarly threatened at this Juncture, and there is an extraordinary Call for Prayer, I design to spend the first Hour after Rising in the Morning in devout Exercises, a Matter in which I have been, I fear, too remiss & negligent. May God assist me in the Execution of my Design.

The diarist continues to be much disturbed by "public affairs," as well as by a more private sorrow, the insanity of his brother Samuel, who is first at a lunatic asylum in Hackney, then sent down in the hope of a partial recovery to Royston, and afterwards at St. Luke's Hospital, and finally at Guy's.

October—Thursd. 7 Gave the Charge at Mr. Allen's Ordination [at Chelmsford] from 2 Tim. 2. 5. Lay at Broomfield [where his son Thomas was at boarding school.]

November—Mond. 8. Spent Time in Prayer at Mrs. Cromwell's on Account of her Son Oliver going into Apprenticeship.

Lord's Day 28. Baptized Thomas Lawrence in Public.

Mond. 14. Visited Mr. John Field, & prayed there.

These entries are all of some interest. The young apprentice was destined to be "the last of the Cromwells," *i.e.* of the descendants in the male line of the great Protector. He died in 1821. Mr. John Field was almost certainly the husband of young Oliver's half-sister Anne, before referred to, whom he had married in 1753. The baptism of the little boy Lawrence was exceptional in being performed in public. Most of the numerous baptisms which Dr. Gibbons records were at the houses of the parents.

December—Thursd. 30. Met Messrs. Conder & Savage on composing a Piece agt. the Militia exercising on a Lord's Day.

1757 January—Thursd. 6. Spent the Day in trying to get a General Body of the Dissenting Ministers summoned to meet on account of the Militia Bill.

Frid. 7. Engaged in the same Business. Through Mercy accomplished it.

Wed. 12. Exercised in Prayer at our Place on account of the State of the Nation.

Feb. Frid. 11. A Day of National Fasting. Mr. Bacon, Stratford, & Carter, assisted me in Prayer. I expounded the 80th Psalm. I preached from 2 Chron. 28. 10. The Exercise from Half an Hour after Ten till Half an Hour after Two.

Tuesd. 15. Attended at the Committee of the three Denominations from 10-12. Went with the Committee to the House of Commons abt. the Militia-Bill.

Things were going badly for the British arms, both in Europe and America. The court-martial was sitting which decreed the execution of Admiral Byng for the loss of Minorca. Meanwhile Mr. Gibbons has troubles of his own. In March he visits John Gatward, an old schoolfellow, "in Newgate for robbing the mail"; and on April 13th he loses his father, the minister of Royston, by death.

May—Lord's Day 22. Preached both parts of the day from Psalm 135. 23, on the acct. of the late Victory of the King of Prussia in Bohemia [the battle of Prague.]

July—Mond. 4. Met a Society for supporting young Men in Learning at Mr. Scott's in Yorkshire. [The Heckmondwike Academy, just commenced; now represented by the Yorkshire United College, Bradford.]

Thursd. 7. Attended & engaged at an Exercise of Prayer set up from 7 till 8 upon the Acct. of the critical & alarming Situation of the Protestant Religion, & the Great Britain (*sic*) in particular [after Frederick the Great's defeat at Kolin.]

Aug.—Tuesd. 23. Went with my Brother to Mrs. Davies, who in Cases of Madness makes use of Oils, & talked with her abt. Terms in behalf of my poor disordered Brother.

Dec.—Mond. 5. Visited Mr. Henry Cromwell in an Hurt from a Sprain.

Wed. 14. Attended & exercised in Prayer at the Ordination of Mr. Ford in Miles' Lane.

1758 Lord's Day Jan. 1. Mr. Boughton of Buckingham preached in the afternoon. Visited Miss Tingey in the evening. She expired while I was at prayer—a striking Providence for me to begin the year with.

Lord's Day 8. Preached in the morning from Job 14. 12, on the Acct. of the Death of the Princess Caroline.

Tuesd. 24. Dined with the Marquess of Lothian.

On Tuesday, Feb. 17th, he takes part in the services on a national fast day, no doubt on occasion of the reverses to the British arms. It lasted from "half an hour after ten till a quarter past two."

Wed. May 3. Attended the Funeral of Mr. Ebenezer Allen, late pastor at Chelmsford.

Thursd. May 11. Attended the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. John Stafford to Co-pastorship with Dr. Guyse. Opened the work of the day. Dined with the Church.

Wed. 24. Attended the settlement of Mr. Webb at the late Mr. Rawlin's place [Fetter Lane]. Dined with the company.

Frid. 26. Lectured at Mile End. Poorly in the afternoon with the Head-Ach. Blessed be God that poorly as I was, I finished the last Lecture of the four years' course of Lectures at the Academy, & hereby I have acquired a Sett of Lectures for my whole future life, or so long as I may continue in the Tutorship.

Evidently the good doctor was not disturbed by the fear of changes necessitated by criticism or research.

Thursd. June 1. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Saml. Stennett.

Thursd. June 29. Attended the Settlement of the Revd. Mr. John Chater at Silver Street. Preached on the occasion from Ps. 132. 16.

Thursd. July 13. Preached in the Evening on the Acct. of the Successes of his Majesty's arms in Germany from Ps. 103. 2. And forget not all his benefits.

Thurs. July 27. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Wills at Royston. Mr. Porter began in Prayer. Mr. Atkins opened the work of the day. Mr. Beldam prayed. Mr. Cooper preached. I prayed. Mr. Conder gave the Charge. Dr. Guyse prayed, & Mr. Wills concluded. Lay at Royston.

Mond. Dec. 25. Went to St. James's, & had a sight of his Majesty, who, blessed be God, appeared to be in good health.

On Feb. 16th we read of another day of national fasting and prayer. On March 7th mention is made of the burial of Mr. Joseph Hughes, "late clerk at our place." In March we read of an auction of the books belonging to a deceased professor, Dr. Ward. This was at Exeter Change.

There are several meetings with ministers at the Amsterdam coffee tavern. The following entry is of interest:—

1759 Tues. June 5. Set out in company with Mr. Mark Ridgway for Welwyn. Dined at Barnet. Reached Welwyn in the latter part of the afternoon. Visited Dr. Young, the celebrated author of the Night Thoughts.

Sat. June 9. Employed in concert with Messrs. Stevens & Pike of our Square in getting Subscriptions for Afternoon Preaching in the Square where we live [Hoxton Square.]

Mond. July 30. Went to Hampstead, & visited Mr. Richd. Cromwell & Family on account of the death of Mrs. Cromwell.

Thursd. Aug. 16. At the Ordination of Mr. John Palmer at Woodbridge. Mr. Toms introduced the Work of the Day. Mr. Harmer prayed over him. Dr. Jennings gave the charge. Dr. Wood preached. Messrs. Porter, Fowle, & self prayed.

Lord's Day Aug. 19. At Mr. Gordon's [Ipswich] from Gal. 6. 14. morning. In the afternoon from Ps. 97. 1, on the acct. of the victory of Prince Ferdinand over the French near Minden.

Wed. Oct. 24. Engaged in a Meeting for National Thanksgiving at Hoxton Square. Mr. Pike preached. Mr. Porter & Mr. Stevens prayed.

Tuesd. Nov. 13. Went with my Family to Westminster. Saw the Prince of Wales.

Thursd. Dec. 20. Informed that I was chosen Lecturer at Mugwell Street in the Evening in the Room of the late Rev. Mr. Willm. Guyse. Declared my acceptance. May God strengthen me both in body and mind for this new & extraordinary Service!

On three occasions during the closing months of the year there is mention made of a visit upon business to the Speaker of the House of Commons. There are also allusions to other national fasts and thanksgivings in this and the following year.

1760 Mond. May 5. Saw the awful Procession of Lord Ferrar in his way to Tyburn for the Murder of his Steward. [He was a near kinsman of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon.]

Wed. May 21. Attended the Separation of the Revd. Mr. Conder to the Co-pastorship at Mr. Hall's. Opened the Work of the day. Mr. Winter preached. Dined with the Church.

Tuesd. July 8. Set out this Morning in the flying Machine for

Portsmouth, 72 miles. Reached the place in the Evening. Lay at Mr. Waller's at Gosport.

Thursd. 10. Preached at the Settlement of Mr. Atkins [at Newport, I.W.] from Ps. 132. 16. Mr. Pearson & Mr. Williams & Mr. Atkins engaged in Prayer. Mr. Johnson introduced the Service.

On August 15th he visits Ely Cathedral, and on the 18th the colleges at Cambridge. One feature of the diary is the practice of visiting the houses of his flock for special prayer and thanksgiving on various occasions—an intended journey or removal to a new abode, an illness or convalescence, a youth going out into the world, and especially an "approaching delivery."

Sat. Sept. 13. Dined with Mr. John Field in Newgate Street. Baptized his Son John Field.

Frid. Sept. 19. Went to Oxford. Dined at Mr. Foxe's, a Draper. Conversed with Mr. Hickes, the present Minister there.

This gentleman must have been the pastor of the unique "Protestant Catholic Church of Christ," now represented by the Baptist cause at New Road. The entry is of interest because it has been supposed that the church was now and for some time afterwards without a pastor.

Sat. Oct. 25th. This Day in the morning heard of the death of our most gracious Sovereign George the 2nd. May the Stroke be sanctified to his Family & the whole Kingdom!

Lord's Day 26. Preached from Eccl. 7. 14. Saw the Proclamation of George the 3rd, whom God Almighty direct, preserve, & bless!

Tuesd. Nov. 4. Attended the meeting of the three Denominations to consider on an address to his Majesty.

Further meetings are recorded on Nov. 11th and 14th.

Wed. 19. Signed the Address of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Condolence and Congratulation to his Majesty on acct. of the Death of his royal Grandfather, and his own Accession to the Throne.

Frid. 21. This day went with the Protestant Ministers in and about the City of London in a body, and waited upon his Majesty George the third with an address of Condolence & Congratulation, and were most graciously received, having

a kind speech declaring his thanks for our loyal and affectionate Address, with his Assurance of his Protection to us, & his Maintenance of the Toleration inviolable, and being all admitted to the honour of kissing his Majesty's Hand. Afterwards went to Leicester House and waited upon the Princess of Wales with another Address. We were there graciously received, had a favourable answer, and were honoured to kiss her Royal Highnesses Hand. Dined at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street. The Ministers that went up about 110 (?).

Lord's Day Dec. 21. At Home all Day. In the Evening received the distressing news of the Death of my Brother the Revd. Mr. Edwd. Gibbons of Uxbridge. The Lord sanctify this most speaking and alarming Providence!

1761 Lord's Day March 29. Preached the Morning and Afternoon from Eph. 1. 11, on Occasion of the Death of the Revd. Mr. Saml. Davies, late President of the College in New Jersey, a most excellent man, & my intimate Friend.

Tuesd. Apr. 23. Went with my Family and saw the Curiosities of the Tower.

Tuesd. 28. Went to Covent-Garden to Mr. Webster's--sat the second time for my Picture.

Mond. May 11. Saw the Curiosities of the Royal Society.

Sat. June 6. Saw the Transit of Venus over the Sun.

Wed. July 1. Attended the Settlement of the Revd. Mr. Joseph Pitts at the late Mr. Halford's place [Back Street, Horsley-down.] I began in an introduction from Heb. 13. 8. Mr. Winter prayed. Mr. Conder preached from 2 Thes. 3. 1, Mr. Brewer prayed. Mr. Pitts concluded.

Lord's Day July 26. Preached in the Morning from Ps. 126. 3, on acct. of the Taking of Pondicherry, & the Defeat of the French at Kirch-Dinkern. Blessed be God for these Successes.

Wed. Aug. 2. At the ordination of Mr. Gawsell at Islington. Dr. Chandler preached & I gave the Charge.

Tuesd. Sept. 8. Set out with my Wife for Witham. Met on the Road near Burntwood the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg Strelitz, who was the same Evening married to our excellent Sovereign George the 3rd.

Tuesd. Sept. 22. Walked out with my Family in the Afternoon to White-Conduit-Fields. The Evening in Illuminations and Rejoycings on the acct. of the King's & Queen's Coronation. May God crown them with Grace here & Glory for ever.

Mond. Nov. 9. Spent the day at Mr. Gibson's in Cheapside with part of my Family, being the Lord Mayor's Day, & the City being honoured with a Visit from the King & Queen.

Wed. 11. Attended the Meeting of the General Body on an Address to his Majesty.

Sat. Dec. 5. This Day received an Information of my Appointment by Coward's Trustees the Day before to be one of the Lecturers at the Friday Lecture at St. Helens in the room of Dr. Guyse deceased.

Wed. 9. This Afternoon received the Account of my being this Day chosen Lecturer at Pinner's Hall in the Room of the late Dr. Guyse.

First Ballot.		The second	
My self	56	My self	87
Mr. Hitchin	53	Mr. Hitchin	63
Mr. Winter	35		
Mr. Hickman	1		
Mr. Webb	3		
Mr. Clater	1		
Mr. Towle	1		
	150		

It is somewhat remarkable that I should be chosen to succeed Dr. Guyse in both these Lectureships. O that a double Portion of his Spirit may be poured out upon me! He was a truly great & good man.

Frid. 11. Preached the Lecture at St. Helens the first time from Isa. 55. 1.

Mond. 14. Met Coward's Trustees & Lecturers at St. Helens. Spent time in prayer on acct. of the new appointments, vlz., Mr. Furneaux chosen Trustee, & Messrs. Townsend, Savage, & self appointed Lecturers.

Tuesd. 29. Baptized Oliver the Son of Mr. John Field.

1762 Lord's Day Jan. 10. Preached in the Morning from 2 Chron. 20. 12 on acct. of the Declaration of the War agt. Spain the Monday before.

Mond. July 26. Went with my Family to Royston. Preached at Braughin in Herts by the way at the opening of Mr. Copperwheat's new Meeting from Acts 5. 20, the substance of 2 Sermons of Lord's Day.

Early in August he pays a visit to the Isle of Wight, where he rides out and "views Sand-Down Fort, Shankley, & Steeples."

Tuesd. Sept. 14. Met the General Body of Dissenting Ministers. Was appointed one among 7 to prepare an address to his Majesty.

Wed. 15. Attended Mr. Carter's Ordination at Stratford near Bow. Opened the Work of the day.

Tuesd. 21. Attended as a pall-bearer the Funeral of Dr. Jennings.

Wed. 22. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Mayo at Nightingale Lane. Prayed on the Occasion. Dined with the Gentlemen.

Wed. 6. Attended with a Deputation upon his Majesty for a Presentation of an Address. Through mercy we were graciously received. How much better our times, blessed be God, than the Days of our Forefathers.

Mond. Oct. 18. Went with Mr. Langford to Gravesend.

Tuesd. 19. Gave the Charge at Mr. Wilcox's Ordination there, from the Apostle's Speech to the Elders of the Church at Ephesus.

Wed. Nov. 3. Engaged in Prayer at the Separation of Mr. Watson at Deadman's Place, Southwark.

Frid. Nov. 26. Went with Mr. Watson to Newgate, & prayed, & endeavoured to instruct a poor woman confined there under Charge for the Murder of her Bastard-Child.

1763 Frid. Feb. 25. Attended the Funeral of Dr. Miles. Went to& returned from Tooting.

Tuesd. Mar. 22. Heard Peace proclaimed. The Lord grant that it may be lasting!

Mond. April 18. Saw the Entrance of the Venetian Embassador.

Wed. 20. Waited on the D. of N. [Duke of Newcastle] with several Ministers, & dined with them.

Tuesd. May 10. Attended the Meeting of the Ministers of the 3 Denominations on an Address to his Majesty.

Thursd. June 9. Cupped this morning for a Complaint in my Head.

Frid. Sept. 2. Preached the Sermon on Acct. of the Fire of London at the Weigh-house from Heb. 11. 10.

Mond. Sept. 19. Set out with Dr. Conder for Reading.

Tuesd. 20. Spent the whole Day in Enquiry & giving an Opinion upon the unhappy Difference between the Revd. Mr. Jones & some of his People.

Frid. Nov. 25. Surveyed my Sermons & found them 1123.

1764 Wed. Feb. 1. Prayed at the Ordination of Mr. Prentice, ordained to be Co-pastor with Mr. Godwin.

There are many entries in the early part of this year relating to visits to his mother, for whom he had recently taken a house at Bethnal Green. Her death is recorded in touching terms on Feb. 4th.

Frid. Mar. 23. Preached at St. Helens from 2 Cor. 5. 3, in the Room of Mr. Godwin just deceased.

Lord's Day Apr. 1. Saw the very remarkable Eclipse of the

Sun in the Morning. Preached in the Afternoon from Ps. 148. 1, Praise him from the Heavens, on the Occasion.

On May 28th another affliction befals the diarist in the death of his son Nathanael, eleven years of age, "a child of remarkably fine capacity, and of a most serious and manly turn of mind." It is interesting to note that during his illness Dr. James was consulted, and his powders (still known) were used without success.

Thursd. June 14. Gave the charge to the Revd. Mr. Parker, this Day ordained Pastor at Aston, from 1 Tim. 4. 16. Mr. Reader opened the work of the day. Mr. Williams of Gosport prayed. Mr. Turner of Abingdon prayed. Mr. Gardiner of Wilton preached. I gave the charge, and Mr. Whitewood of Reading concluded in prayer.

Thursd. July 19. Opened the work of the Day at the Settlement of the Revd. Mr. Gordon with the late Dr. Jennings's Church [Old Gravel Lane, Wapping.] Dr. King preached, & Messrs. Brewer, Towle, & Gordon prayed.

Tuesd. Aug. 14. Went to Woodstock. Dined there. Saw the Duke of Marlborough's Seat at Blenheim.

Tuesd. 21. Went with my own & Mr. Boughton's family to Stowe, and saw Lord Temple's Gardens & House.

These outings were during a holiday at Buckingham. Mr. Boughton was the minister of the Congregational church there. He was an intimate friend of the diarist, and is constantly mentioned. At this time Mr. Gibbons had two pupils in his home, Robert and Alexander Peronneau, sons of a South Carolina gentleman.

Thursd. Sept. 20. Attended the Settlement of Mr. Evan Jones at Little Baddow. Mr. Towle began; Mr. Beldam of Dunmow prayed next, I preached from Gal. 5. 13. Mr. Johnson of Chelmsford prayed next, and Mr. Jones himself concluded.

Sat. 27. Dined with Mr. John Field. Baptized his son John.

The boy baptized by the same name in 1760 was evidently dead. The boy now mentioned became eminent as Umpire of the Mint.

Tuesd. 13. Preached the Sermon to the People at Broad Street, Reading, at the Ordination of Mr. Thos. Noon. Dr. Conder gave the charge. Mr. Reader prayed over him.

Frid. Nov. 7. Attended a meeting of the Brethren of the

Church in the affair of treating or not treating with the Haberdashers' Hall Company about our Meeting. Determined that we would not treat, and opened a subscription for building a Meeting.

After this he goes out almost daily to collect subscriptions. On Dec. 21st he meets "the brethren of the church and congregation" at the George in Ironmonger's Lane, when a committee is appointed to look out a suitable site.

1765 Frid. Jan. 4. Received a Diploma of a Doctor's Degree from Aberdeen.

Frid. Feb. 22. Held a Church Meeting. Agreed to renew our lease of our Meeting with the Haberdashers' Company as we had in vain looked out for a piece of Ground to erect a new Meeting upon.

Wed. Apr. 17. Set out with Messrs. Conder, Walker, & Towle for Godalmin in Surrey. Arrived there in the Evening.

Thursd. 18. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Ring. Mr. Metcalf of Kingston began in Prayer, Mr. Towle opened the Work, Dr. Walker prayed over him. I preached to the People. Mr. Stantial of Chertsey prayed. I preached the Sermon from 1 Thess. 2. 18, 17. Dr. Conder gave the Charge, & Mr. Ring concluded.

Thursd. Aug. 15. Went with a number of Brethren to the M. of R's [Marquis of Rockingham's.]

Mond. Aug. 26. Went with Messrs. Langford, Stennett, and Toller to George Onslow's, Esquire, at Ember Court, Thames Ditton; went thence to the Duke of Newcastle's at Claremont. Dined at Mr. Onslow's. Went in the Evening with the above Company, and lay at the King's Head at Dorking.

Sat. Sept. 28. Attended the Funeral of Mrs. Mary Bradbury, Relict of the late Mr. Thos. Bradbury [of New Court.]

Frid. Oct. 4. Dismissed Mr. Willm. Kingsbury to Southampton Church.

Tuesd. Oct. 8. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Willm. Kingsbury at Southampton. Dr. Samuel of Rumsey prayed & read. Mr. Williams of Gosport asked the Questions. Mr. Boreman of Winchester prayed the Ordination Prayer. Mr. Wright of Ringwood preached. I gave the Charge. Mr. Atkins of Newport in the Isle of Wight prayed.

Tuesd. Oct. 15. Went to Chelmsford in the Machine to attend the Funeral Sermon for my Uncle the Revd. Mr. John Gibbons, who deceased Thursday the 10th instant.

Frid. Nov. 1. This Morning heard the Rumor, whose Truth was afterwards confirmed, of the Death of that illustrious

Hero, and in the Year 45 the honoured Instrument of Salvation to this Kingdom, the Duke of Cumberland. An useful and Important Life taken away at a very critical juncture. The Lord make us duly sensible of the Stroke, and duly sanctify it to us !

1766 Mond. Jan. 13. This day Mr. Davies's Sermons, about which I have bestowed so much care & pains, were published.

Frid. Feb. 21. Heard Dr. Warberton's Sermon to the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts.

The frequent conferences with leading ministers, and visits to public men, are explained by the following entries :—

Mond. March 31. Visited Dr. Stennett, who received the R.D. [Regium Donum] the Friday before.

Wed. April 2. Dined with Messrs. Earle, Spilsbury, Hodge, Pope, & Langford of the Presbyterian Denomination, Messrs. Toller & Webb of the Independents, & Dr. Stennett of the Baptist, the present distributors of the R.D.

Wed. Apr. 9. Visited with Messrs. Earle, Langford, Spilsbury, Toller and Hodge the Duke of Newcastle.

Thursd. 10. Attended with the above the Levee of the Marquis of Rockingham.

Lord's Day 20. Mr. Sampson Occum, an American Indian, preached for me in the afternoon.

Wed. May 28. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Rice Harris to the joint Pastorship with Dr. Earle [Hanover Street, Long Acre.] Mr. Kippis prayed & read. I prayed. Mr. Savage preached. Mr. Spilsbury asked the Questions. Dr. Earle prayed over Mr. Harris. Mr. Furneaux gave the Charge.

Mond. June 2. Went with my wife & Son Samuel to Ingatestone. Saw my Son Samuel inoculated, & placed under the care of Dr. Sutton.

Wed. June 18. Went to Tooting & attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Wilton. Mr. Kippis began in prayer, & read two Chapters. I prayed. Mr. Furneaux preached. Mr. Spilsbury received the Confession & prayed the Ordination Prayer. Mr. Savage gave the Charge, and Dr. Stennett concluded in Prayer.

Wed. July 30. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Jacob Dalton at Silver Street. Mr. Thomson prayed & read. I asked the Questions. Mr. Ford prayed. Mr. Savage preached. Dr. Stennett prayed. Mr. Davidson of Braintree gave the Charge, & Mr. Gordon concluded.

Sat. Sept. 13. Dined with Mr. John Field. Baptized Mary his Daughter.

Wed. Oct. 8. Attended & prayed at the Settlement of Mr. George Stevens at St. Helens. Dined with the Ministers & People at the George in Ironmonger Lane.

Thursd. Oct. 9. Attended with Messrs. Langford, Stennett, & Toller the Levee of the Duke of Grafton. Dined at the Spaniards between Highgate & Hampstead.

1767 Tuesd. Jan. 27. Went to Westminster. Heard the Debates in the House of Commons.

Frid. May 15. Went to see the Exhibition of Pictures in Spring Gardens.

Mond. May 25. Went with the young Persons of my Family to the Review by his Majesty of some Regiments of Horse on Wimbledon Common.

On Aug. 22 the Doctor "goes in the Bedford Fly" to Cardington, where he was the guest of the illustrious John Howard. The next day being Sunday he preaches at "Mr. Simmons's meeting," on the 25th he accompanies Howard to Olney, and returns the following day to London.

Thursd. Sept. 3. This Day finished for the Press my Treatise on the Tropes and Figures of Rhetoric, except the Preface. Now let me turn myself to Divinity and my Ministerial Work. Majora canamus.

Frid. Sept. 9. At Home. Received a very handsome Letter from Dr. Hurdis, Chaplain to the Duke of Newcastle, acquainting me with the leave of his Grace to me to dedicate my Treatise on Rhetoric to him.

Thursd. Oct. 15. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Charles Case [at Witham, Essex.] Mr. Beldam began in Prayer. Mr. Davidson opened the Work. Dr. Walker prayed the Ordination Prayer. Mr. Rogers preached to the People. Mr. Johnson prayed. I gave the Charge. Mr. Petts prayed. Dr. Conder concluded with Prayer.

Wed. Oct. 28. Heard Mr. Whitefield at his Tabernacle preach the Sermon to the Book Society from Luke 11. 2. Dined with the Society.

Wed. Nov. 4. Dined with a Society for commemorating King William's Birthday.

Sat. 21. Spent a considerable part of my Time in adjusting the Distribution of the R.D., and giving Notice to the various Persons who are to receive it.

Tuesd. Dec. 1. This Day my Piece on Rhetoric was published.

Tuesd. Dec. 15. Visited and prayed with Mr. Henry Cromwell.

This must have been Henry, the sixth son of

Major Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling, who died unmarried in 1769.

1768 Thursd. Feb. 4. Baptized in the Evening William, the Son of Mr. John Field.

William Field became a Unitarian minister and teacher at Warwick, and died in 1851.

Thursd. Mar. 10. Saw the King go to dissolve the Parliament.

Frid. April 15. Went down with the Revd. Mr. Webb to Hertford. . . . . Attended as a Pall-bearer the Funeral of the Revd. Mr. John Saunders, many years Minister at that Place. Heard Mr. Webb on 1 Cor. 15. 56 and 57, the Subject of the Funeral Discourse.

Lord's Day May 29. Preached in the Morning from Ps. 91. 16, on the Death of the Revd. Mr. John Greene, aged 86 Years.

Lord's Day, June 19. Mr. Bull of Newport Pagnel preached for me in the Morning.

Frid. Sept. 23. Saw the King of Denmark, who dined in the City.

Thursd. Oct. 13. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Joseph Saunders at Cambridge. Mr. Towle prayed & opened the work of the Day. Mr. Saunders delivered his Confession. Mr. Hitchin gave his Charge from 2 Tim. 2. 15. Mr. Malden of Burwell prayed. Dr. Conder preached from Heb. 13. 22. Mr. Thomas Saunders prayed and I my self concluded. Visited Dr. Law, Principal of Peter-House.

Tuesd. Oct. 18. Heard the Harveian Oration at the College of Physicians spoken by Dr. Warren.

Frid. Nov. 4. Went with my Wife and some of my Family to the Museum & saw the grand Curiosities of Nature & Art collected there.

Thursd. Dec. 1. Went with my Wife & eldest Son to Mr. Thornton's of Clapham, & dined with him.

Thursd. Dec. 8. Went with Messrs. Stennett, Langford, & Toller to George Onslow's Esq ; attended the Levee of the Duke of Grafton. Were introduced to the Archbp. of Canterbury.

Frid. Dec. 16. Visited Mr. Onslow, and obtained his Leave for dedicating my Ode on the Death of the late Duke of Newcastle to him.

1769 Thursd. Jan. 5. Spent time in Prayer with Mr. Willm. Cromwell on the Death of his Brother Mr. Henry Cromwell this Day about 3 o'clock in the Afternoon.

Tuesd. Jan. 31. Met the Committee of our Church and Silver Street in Conference upon the Incorporation of the two Churches. The Committee on our Part Messrs. Field,

Jackson & Harriot. The Committee on the part of the Church of Silver Street, Messrs. Pierson, Bogle, & Wordsworth.

Wed. Apr. 5. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Nathanael Jennings at Islington. Mr. Stafford began in Prayer. Mr. Brewer asked the Questions & received the Confession, & prayed. Mr. Spilsbury prayed the Ordination Prayer. Dr. Conder gave the Charge. Mr. Toller prayed. I preached the Sermon. Mr. Angus concluded.

The following entry reads oddly now:—

Mond. May 29. Lectured at Mile End. Met the Deacons in in the Evening. Spent afterwards an Hour or two with them at a Tavern.

Sat. June 3. At Home. Saw in the Evening thro' a Telescope the Transit of Venus.

Thursd. June 22. Went with several Persons to see Mr. Cromwell's Curiosities.

On July 1st he sets out in the "Newcastle machine," which reaches its destination two days later. He continues his journey to Edinburgh next day in a postchaise and puts up at the Red Lion in the Cowgate on the night of the 8th. The following day being Sunday he hears Dr. Webster at the Tolbooth in the morning, and Dr. Walker at the New Church in the evening. The following Sunday he preaches for the last-named minister, the Provost and judges being present. A week later he preaches at the Old Greyfriars; in the morning for Dr. Erskine, and in the evening at the New Greyfriars for Mr. Henry. During his stay at Edinburgh, and a short visit to Glasgow, he meets with Professors Robinson and Muirhead, Lady Gardiner, and "Mr. James Boswell, author of the *History of Corsica*," with whom he dines at the house of his father, Lord Auchinleck. Dr. Gibbons' errand at Edinburgh seems to have been to enter his young pupil Robert Peronneau at the University. He returns to London on August 3rd.

Mond. Aug. 28. Went by water to Chelsea. Dined with Lady Baird, Daughter of Colonel Gardiner. Returned in the Coach.

Frid. Sept. 1. Dismissed the Revd. Mr. William Gardiner to the Church at Deal.

Tuesd. Sept. 12. [At Deal.] Went on board the Friendship, Capt. Ball, lying in the Downs, and visited the Revd. Mr. Whitefield, going for South Carolina.

Wed. Sept. 13. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. William Gardner at Deal. Mr. Holt began in Prayer, and by reading two Chapters. Mr. Milne prayed. Mr. Gellibrand preached from Acts 9. 31, and received the Confession and asked the Questions. I prayed over Mr. Gardner, and delivered a Charge from 2 Tim. 2. 8. Mr. Whitefield was present, & preached in the Evening at y^e^ Meeting from 1 Cor. 3. 11.

1770 Mond. April 16. Opened Catechising in the Evening.

Wed. May 9. Went with Dr. Stennett to Mr. Onslow's on the Affair of James Newlin, an unhappy Convict in the Cells of Newgate.

Wed. June 6. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Rees Price at Chalfont St. Giles's. Mr. Rutherford prayed & read two Chapters. Mr. Spooner prayed. Mr. Derby preached. Dr. Langford asked the Questions, received the Confession, & prayed the Ordination Prayer. My self gave the Charge from 2 Tim. 2. 8, and Mr. Davies concluded.

Lord's Day June 24. Preached both Parts of the Day on Ps. 39, the former Part of the Day an Exposition, The after Part on Ver. 4, adapted to the death of the late Lord Mayor of London, Willm. Beckford, Esq.

Wed. Aug. 15. [At Dorking.] Attended the Ordination of Mr. Stuck. Mr. Wilton of Tooting began in Prayer, read & introduced the Work of the Day. Mr. Townsend asked the Questions he thought proper, & prayed over him. Mr. Palmer preached from Luke 10. 2. Mr. Ring prayed. I gave the Charge from Acts 20, the Apostle Paul's Address to the Elders of the Church at Ephesus, & Mr. Smalley concluded.

Wed. Sept. 19. [At Rochford.] The Ordination of Mr. Saml. Andrews. Mr. Johnson of Chelmsford began. Mr. Davison of Braintree gave the Charge from 2 Tim. 2. 15. Mr. Crisp of Colchester prayed. I preached from 1 Cor. 3. 9. Mr. Case of Witham concluded in Prayer. I trust a good Day.

Wed. Oct. 3. Waited on Mr. Onslow in Relation to obtaining a Protection for a Waterman that saved my Son Samuel from drowning abt. two years since.

Frid. Oct. 5. The Church agreed to Singing after the long Prayer on a Lord's Day, between the Prayer & the Sermon.

Wed. Oct. 17. Carried the Protection from the Lords of the

Admiralty, obtained by my kind Friend Mr. George Onslow, to Thomas Stevens, the Waterman who saved my second Samuel from drowning this day two years. A very acceptable Present to a Man who was in Fear of being pressed, and durst not stir abroad. The Lord sanctify the merciful Event to himself and Family.

Mond. Nov. 5. Heard of the Death of Mr. George Whitefield at Newbury in New England.

Tuesd. Nov. 13. Heard the King deliver his Speech from the Throne. Heard the Debates in the House of Lords.

Thursd. Dec. 6. Attended the Committee of the Fund and Society to consider of a Tutor in the Room of Dr. Walker.

Mond. Dec. 10. Met the Congregational Fund, & joined in choosing the Revd. Dr. Daniel Fisher of Warminster Tutor in the Academy at Homerton in the Room of Dr. Walker deceased.

Tuesd. Dec. 25. Dined at Mr. Dilly's, Bookseller, with Mrs. Maccaulay & others.

W. H. SUMMERS.

[*To be concluded.*]

Memorials of Old Devonshire Nonconformity

THE following documents formed part of the long-forgotten bundle which yielded the interesting *Boson* letter in *Transactions*, *No. IV*, (p. 226.) They are given *literatim*, except that in the first MS. the initial *l* is always a capital. A little necessary punctuation is also supplied, and words interlined are placed in square brackets.

Payhembury is a small village about five miles from Honiton. Its population was 416 in 1801, and 461 in 1891. Of Henry Farrant nothing seems to be known except what appears in his own simple narrative, the date of which is presumably soon after the Revolution. Possibly some local investigation may be able to identify Podbury, whose share in the persecution of Farrant seems to have had in it something of personal malice. A further light might be cast on the narrative by the identification of Grims and Ven.

The second letter is of no great historic importance, but is interesting as a personal memorial of two old Nonconformist worthies. The date cannot be later than 1729. Some explanation of the legal proceedings referred to might be possible if more were known of Lieut.-Col. Hillyard. It seems as if he and the grand jury sympathized with, while the judge and other magistrates were unfriendly to, certain defendants, presumably Nonconformists, who looked for relief by favour of the king, either George I. or George II. Of the writer and recipient Mr. E. Windeatt writes as follows :—

"Mr. John Ball is mentioned in the earliest record

of the Congregational church at Honiton, in a book headed *Copy of Register of Baptisms in the old Meeting-House, now pulled down, in Honiton. Witness the hands of John Ball and Francis Glanville, 169⁶₇.* This register continues to 1755. Meen's *History* (MSS.) *of Nonconformist Churches in the West of England*, now in Bristol Baptist College, date about 1780, refers to Dr. Ball, and says, under Honiton, 'He perfected his education under two very learned tutors; the famous Mr. Hickman (a strenuous writer against Dr. Heylin) in Warwickshire, and Mr. Short in Dorset [probably Ames Short of Lyme.] After which he employed himself with a remarkable dexterity and success in teaching Grammar learning to a select number of gentlemen's sons in his own house, by connivance in those severe times of persecution under King Charles and James II., and yet was spared by his being greatly beloved by the men of power in his neighbourhood, many of whose sons he instructed, though some of their fathers were of different sentiments. But as y^e^ rage grew hotter in that part of y^e^ country upon y^e^ defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, he was constrained to leave his home and estate, and remove to Holland as a tutor to two young gentlemen (Col. Henley and Col. Trenchard), where he studied physic and took his degree of Dr. in that faculty, and returned well accomplished for y^e^ practice of it, by which he might have greatly advanced his fortune.' Afterwards, in 1705, he united two sections of a church at Honiton, which had been for a time divided. Murch's *History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England*, 1835, refers to him as 'John Ball, whose zeal, learning, and orthology made him one of the most celebrated divines in the West.'"

John Walrond, who was ordained 19th October,

1715, was Independent minister at Ottery, removed to Exeter in 1729, and died 4th October, 1755. He took part in the Arian controversy about 1719, and published a funeral sermon for Mr. Ball of Honiton. The full title is: *The Character of a Good Minister. A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Mr. John Ball, who died May 6th, 1745, in his 91st year of his age: preached at Honiton in the County of Devon by John Walrond. Exeter, 1745.* A copy is in Dr. Williams's Library.

A Breaf account of my former Suffering for the sattisfaction of Some.

Hen. ffarrant of Payhembry.

When I first went abroad to heare the nonconformest, after Mr. Podbury came to know it, he stered up the Church wardens to site me to [the] Bishops Courte. not long after I was excommunicated; after that my goods was often strained upon the 12 peny act*: and my goods sould and given to the pore. not long after 4 baylifs broke open my dors and beaten my wife, but I esceaped, Upon another act from the Bishops Court caled capyenendo [*i.e., capiendo*]; which was a write to carry me to prison; then I fled from my ffamily and left them two years and halfe; then King Charles the Second gave Liberty of Conscience, then I returned to my pore ffamily. while I was wanting they freed a prentice which I had, which had 2 years and halfe to com of his time, which was above 8 pounds lost to mee; not long that Liberty leasted, then I was again excommunicated, and my goods often strained again and sould; and at last this would not sattisfie Mr. P., but cased maney of the parrish of my best custimers to be scited to court for setting a mee a work being an excommunicated person, so that I had not a days work for many weeks, but at last farmer Richard Ven [?] appeared to court and tould Mr. Grims [?] that except he would mentain my family they would set me at work; by that mens I had some work againe, but this would not quiet the mind of malitious [*illegible*] man; but then I was proseded upon the act of twenty pound a month †; then I was forced away againe from my pore ffamily for many years untill Munmoths time, and then king James give a pardon for all that was past, and then I returned home againe. Not long after Mr. Po. cased me to be put in upon the twenty pound a munth againe†, and I was taken up by

* Act 1 Eliz. c2.s14, imposing fine of twelve pence for "Not repairing to Church."

† Act 23 Eliz. c1, imposing fine of twenty pounds a month for "Absenting from Church."

Mr. Robert Crow, being then cunstable, and was carried to prison by him. not long after king James gave liberty, and our liberty hath bine confermed ever sence. this for a most twenty years I was in troble ; when I first went from my ffamily I was worth neare fforty pounds, and if I had a hundred pound more I could louse it for soe good a case. Let none make aney objection [?] but leave it to the day of judgment ; then every on will be judged by the word of God and their one conscence, and not by the law of nations. this you m[a]y see how I become pore.

[*Endorsed*] Henry Farrants Narrative of his Persecution.

John Ball of Honiton to John Walrond of Ottery.

Amicissime

I have been at Taunton, Mr. B (*name obliterated*) hath entered his traverse for next assizes ; y^e^ hope of his speedyng is either a noli prosequi, wch is very unlikely, or that some body would speak to y^e^ K. to send a Judge and make a sheriff that may bee both favourable. there was a presentment against Mr. W., Mr. M., and 2 others ; y^e^ Judge thanked y^e^ gentlemen, and put it in his pocket without saying a word ; and they say when the grand Jury were askt who would prosecute they refused one after another. the justices are all y^e^ same, saving L.Coll. Hillyard. there is a conformist at Taunton that outdoes us all att Catechizing. I have read Williams life, and find exactly off Lauds [mind,] only hee thought it prudence to yeild sometime, while Lauds maxim was, there is no end of yeilding, else I think Wms as high for y^e^ Ceremoniall Diana. least you suspect mee partiall I bring my witness ; y^e^ remainder of y^e^ Bohemian churches | braziers | offered to come and settle here with 200,000^lt^, only begged liberty off conscience ; y^e^ King was willing, but Wms prophesied danger to y^e^ ceremonies and prevailed, which makes [out] our [Saviors] observation that such men put [by] gods command (love y^e^ end of y^e^ law) to establish their own traditions. in other points a good natured gentleman, y^t^ refreshd himselfe w^th^ a Comedy in his house on Sunday after an Ordination, wch was to shew his contempt of y^e^ rigid puritan, as father Bancroft had done before him. A great clergy man hee was, a diocese in himselfe, Bp., dean, prebend, canon residentiary, porson, chantor ; and tho hee saw not his diocess in 5 years, yet my author says never was diocese better governed. I perceive y^e^ old gentlemans exposition upon feeding y^e^ flock *non per se sed per alios* [is true]. how great is clergymens pride ! how true *venenum infusum in ecclesiam !* God keep us from this leaven, that wee may follow y^e^ example off him that went about doing good, and like good shepherds may labour to know

our owne flocks by name. Mr. Broadmead hath been here, (*a whole line obliterated*) *Sum ex animo*

J. Ball

Shall I see you Monday. I will be at home however, I want somebody to go with mee one hour to Sir W. Y. if you come not give me a line.

(*Address*) These For Mr. Wallrond minister in Ottery.

(*Postscript written outside after sealing.*) Bring me 3 ounces of white sugar candy of the largest grain. I desire my Br. Walrond or Cor. Farrington to forward Mr Pollexfen's letter to Mr. Bathe, so as it may [go] directly without being carried to London. Enquire for a Pumpman.

Evangelization in Wales, Anno 1690

THE following letters, addressed to Rev. Richard Stretton, both written on the same sheet of foolscap, are in the Congregational Library.

Richard Stretton, M.A., ejected from Petworth, ministered from about 1677 to 1712 at Haberdashers' Hall. A good account of him is given in the *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. iii., pp. 326-9; also in W. Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, vol. iii., pp. 128-33.

Hugh Owen was silenced by the Act of Uniformity, being then a candidate for the ministry. He afterwards lived on his own property in Merioneth, and laboured as an itinerant preacher in that and two adjacent counties. He died in 1699. There is an interesting account of him in the *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. iii., pp. 490-94.

James Owen was pastor at Oswestry from about 1676 to 1699; and afterwards pastor and tutor at Shrewsbury—as colleague of F. Tallents—till his death in 1706. See his *Life*, by Charles Owen. 1709.

(1.)

BRONYCLYDWR,

Jan. 28th, 90.

SR,

The blessed God reward you, for your great care & pains with my son, and others of his fellow-students, as also for what kindness you design poor families in procuring them Bibles, wch (as I apprehend by your letter) are to be distributed by Mr. James Owen, & myselfe, sending you up speedily y^e^ names of such, as

we judge it charity to supply them, not only being poor, but such as may be supposed will make good use of them: As to me I cannot think how possibly I can do it well suddenly as to my own county Merioneth shire, much less as to CarnarvonShire, y^e^ neerest meeting there being about 22 miles off from me; therefore I humbly conceive before I can answer y^e^ end of y^t^ good work, I must either at every meeting in the county, & when I go there, I mean to Carnarvon Shire, wch (as now I design) will be in March, to enquire privately of such as I can confide in, who they be y^t^ are such objects of Charity; wch I suppose will be y^e^ best way if so much time can be allowed, or else to write to such as I can trust for the names of such poor as you enquire after, y^e^ last way will take up some time, but for me to enquire upon y^e^ place wherever I go much more. but being it's not y^e^ pleasure of our good benefactors, whom I beseech God abundantly to reward, to send y^e^ books first down, as in Mr. Gouge his time, and afterwards for us to send up y^e^ names of those y^t^ recd. them, I shall endeavour with what speed I can, both to enquire myselfe, & put others upon it, in y^e^ aforementioned countyes, & in some part of Montgomery-shire, y^t^ lyes farthest from Mr. James Owen, & y^n^ send these names to him to be conveyed to you, if a speedier way of sending does not offer itselfe. The Lord reward all your labours of love to Sion, Crown all your endeavours for God with a blessing, continue you long here to serve his Churches, and your race finished, give you an abundant entrance to his kingdome & glory. Resting, yo^r^ poor meane fellowlabourer,

HUGH OWEN.

SR,

Give me leave further to add, y^t^ I suppose it is not I alone, from your great labours of love to my poor child, but all y^e^ Churches of Xt in North Wales, ought to be sensible of God's great goodness to them by you, as y^e^ instrum^nt^, not only from this endeavour of yours to help poor families with Welsh Bibles, but also to help them to a prospect of a succession of labourers, y^t^ may assist y^e^ few y^t^ be while they continue, and to supply y^r^ room when removed. And y^r^fore with respect to us all, I beseech y^e^ blessed, blessed, blessed God reward you both here & hereafter.

[*verte.*

(2.)

WORTHY SIR,

I recēd. this letter of Mr. H. O. to you this day, w^ch^ he desires me to send to you. I pray let not y^e^ Welch be sufferers by our delayes in sending up names to you. If y^e^ distribution of Bibles be equal, it will take up time to inquire for fit objects in 5 or

6 counties, for we are willing to scatter y^m^ as much as may be. We have some young men y^t^ are very hopeful, & begin to preach, who want som bookes, espec. Comõn places and Cõmentators; there is one Mr. Jo. Lewis, who hath been w^th^ Mr. Woodhouse,* & is now w^th^ me, who makes use of my study at p^r^sent. If y^e^ Trustees† can help y^m^ to a few bookes, it will be a great Charity. Mr. David Jones of Salop, who preaches sometimes in Wales & hath y^e^ Welch tongue, is left out of y^e^ public list for NorthWales; if anything can be done for him I should be very glad. I heard lately from your two young men; Mr. Jo. Baddy sent me an exercise of his, w^ch^ pleased me well. Mr. Frankland‡ gives us a very good character of both. You will greatly oblige me if you be pleased to let me know in your next, w^t^ became of y^e^ paper of agreement between y^e^ Presb: & y^e^ Independ: The heats of some who are leaning tow^ds^ Anabaptism, hath produced ill effects in our neighbourhood of late. God heal our breaches, & fit us for his pleasure. The Tory party are very rampant in these parts. At Denbigh they have presented our friends for conventiclers, tho' they have qualified y^m^selves as y^e^ statute requires. Our Bishop of Asaph§, hath sent a public schoolm^r^ lately into our town, one Mr. Guild, who was cast out in Scotland. It is suspected he hath not taken y^e^ oath to king W^m^. A parson in our neghbourhood lately prayed for K. J. & y^e^ P. of Wales, & no notice was taken of him. I pray favor me in yo^r^ next w^th^ som hints of y^r^ thoughts of the present scene of public affairs. The Lord bless you & yo^rs^, & prosper yo^r^ labors.

I am yo^r^ obliged servant JAMES OWEN.

(*Address*) To y^e^ Rev^d.^ M^r.^ Richard Stretton
at Bartholomew Close
London

* Tutor at Sheriff-hales, Shropshire.

† Query if this is an earlier trace of the Congregational Fund Board, usually said to have been established in 1695.

‡ Tutor at Rathmell, near Settle, Yorks.

§ This must have been Lloyd, afterward Bishop of Lichfield, and later of Worcester, with whom James Owen had held a debate at Oswestry in 1681 on the validity of non-episcopal ordination.

Puritanism in the Channel Isles

THE Channel Islands have at all times been a place of refuge for political and religious exiles from England and from the Continent. Soon after the Reformation a number of Protestant ministers fled from the persecutions in France to Jersey; we have the names of forty-four. Two of them were authorised by Queen Elizabeth in 1563 to form churches according to the Genevan form, one at St. Helier, Jersey, and the other at St. Peter's Port, Guernsey. Their influence spread over the whole of the islands, so that all the churches became Presbyterian. Synods were held from 1564. Cartwright and Snape came to the islands in 1576, to escape from persecution, and to help in regulating the organization of the churches then in existence.

Some dissensions having taken place in Jersey, conformity to the Church of England was required; and in 1623 a code of ecclesiastical canons for Jersey was prepared and duly sanctioned by James I. They are still in force, and contain some traces of Presbyterianism.

In Guernsey the Presbyterian forms remained in use till the appointment of Rev. John de Saumarez as dean in 1662. He insisted on putting in force the Act of Uniformity, and several ministers who refused to conform were ejected. We have the names of Le Marchant, ejected from Le Valle and St. Sampson; Perchard, from St. Peter's in the Wood; Morehead, from St. Saviour; de la Marche, from Castel; Herivel from Forest and Torteval.

Of these, only de la Marche—or, as he is there called, Mr. le Marsh—is mentioned in the *Nonconformists' Memorial.* He, and one de la Place, whose name does not appear in 1662, had been members of the Westminster Assembly. After his ejectment he held meetings in his own house; but how long they were allowed is uncertain.

Le Marchant, who belonged to a good family, was especially hated by the dean. He was imprisoned in Castle Cornet, and afterwards in the Tower of London, until September, 1667; and was then only liberated under bail of £1,000, and promise that he would not return to Guernsey unless he obtained special permission from the king, and behaved as a dutiful subject.

The public feeling was so opposed to these proceedings that the garrison was increased for fear of trouble, and the churches were for a time deserted.

E. Le Brun.

Jersey.

The Indulgence, 1672

IN the Public Record Office (S.P. Dom. Car. ii., 320, 17) is a draft, apparently in the handwriting of Lord Arlington, of the several forms of licence to be issued under the Indulgence. The three forms are written consecutively on the same sheet under the same common heading, with their respective titles in the margin, as follows:—

Charles &c To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, & other Our Officers & Ministers Civill & Military who^{m} it may concerne, Greeting.

Teacher of a certaine Congregation

In pursuance of Our Declaration of y^{e} 15 of March 167½ Wee do hereby permitt & license . . . to be a Teacher of y^{e} Congregacõn allowed by Vs in . . . . for y^{e} use of such as doe not conforme to y^{e} Church of England who are of y^{e} Perswasion commonly called . . . . With further license & permission to him y^{e} said . . . . to teach in any other place licensed & allowed by Vs, according to Our s^{d} Declaration.

Ye Place

In pursuance of our Declaration of y^{e} 15 of March 167½ Wee have allowed & Wee doe hereby allow of . . . . to be a Place for y^{e} use of such as doe not conforme to y^{e} Church of England, who are of y^{e} perswasion Commonly called . . . . to meet & assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship & Devotion. & all & singular Our Officers & Ministers Eccticall Civill & Military, who it may concerne, are to take due notice hereof, & they & every of them are hereby strictly charged & required to hinder any Tumult or Disturbance, & to Protect them in their said Meetings & Assemblyes. Given &c.

Teacher in general & at large

In pursuance of our Declaration of y^{e} 15 March 167½ Wee doe hereby permitt & license . . . . . of y^{e} Perswasion commonly called . . . . to be a Teacher & to teach in any Place licensed & allowed by Vs. according to our said Declaration. Given &c.

Bound up in the same volume are several transcripts of these drafts in other hands, with the abbreviations, etc., written in full; and also printed blank forms corresponding thereto. Filled in copies of these licences are very rare; see below. There are also lists of applications and licences granted, from which it would probably need nothing but patience to extract a complete catalogue, and thus exhibit the full extent of Nonconformity (exclusive of the Quakers, who on principle refused to ask indulgence,) ten years after the Ejectment. This is a work which it is highly desirable should be taken in hand.

The only actual licences known to be still extant are the following :—

Dorset.—For Jeremiah Littlejohn, in the house of Robert Berren at Gillingham. In the Congregational Library.

Lancashire.—For P. Seddon's house at Outwood, in the parish of Prestwich. Was in the possession of Wm. Bateman, F.A.S., of Middleton.

Middlesex.—For the Presbyterian Meeting in Monkwell Street. In Williams's Library.

Yorkshire.—For Rev. Oliver Heywood of Northowram. Was in the possession of Rev. Richd. Astley, Halifax.

Yorkshire.—For the Upper Chapel, Sheffield. Was in the possession of Rev. J. Pye-Smith, D.D.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography

V

THE meeting of the Long Parliament operated as a virtual emancipation of the Press. From the eve of its assembling to the day, fourteen months later, when Charles attempted to seize the five members, there were issued hundreds of controversial books and pamphlets on ecclesiastical topics. Some of these were directed against particular abuses, some against the prelatic order and the ceremonies ; some advocated Presbyterianism, some Independency ; and some defended the hierarchy in every variety of tone, from arrogance to scurrility. To these few months also belong the earliest publications of several writers of lasting celebrity.

The regular publication of Parliamentary debates was as yet in the distant future ; but there were issued :—

Speeches And Passages Of This Great and Happy Parliament, from the third of November 1640 to this instant June 1641. Collected into One Volume, and according to the most perfect Originalls, exactly published. 4to., 8+534pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Congregational Library, etc. Reissued, with a new title-page and additional matter, as *A True Collection of Speeches, Arguments, Impeachments, Messages, and Conferences, and other Transactions In that Memorable Parliament, Begun at Westminster, The third day of November, 1640.* 4to., 1659.

The Diurnall Occurrences, or Dayly Proceedings of Both Houses, in this Great and Happy Parliament, From the third of November, 1640, to the third of November, 1641. Wih A Continuation of all the Speeches, from June last, to the third of November, 1641. 4to., 6+429 pp., 1641. In the Congregational and other libraries.

The following speeches—and perhaps others on ecclesiastical topics—were published separately :—

MR. BAGSHAW'S *Speech in Parliament February the ninth 1640. Concerning Episcopacy And the London Petition.* 4to., 2+8pp., 1641.

L. CARY [VISCT. FALKLAND]. *A Speech Made To The House of Commons Concerning Episcopacy.* 4to., 16+30pp., 1641. In the library of the Boston Athenæum, Mass.†

A most worthy Speech of . . . SIR EDWARD DEERING *. . . Concerning the Lyturgy of the Church of England, and for a Nationall Synod.* 4to., 2+5 pp., 1641.

The Third Speech of the Lord GEORGE DIGBY *To the House of Commons, concerning Bishops and the Citie Petition*, the 9th of February, 1640 (41.) 4to., 19pp, 1640.

A Speech of the Honorable NATHANAEL FIENNES . . . *in answer to the Third Speech of the Lord George Digby, Concerning Bishops &c.* 4to., 2+28pp., 1641.

A Second Speech of the H. NATHANAEL FIENNES . . . . *Touching the Subjects Liberty against the late Canons, and the New Oath.* 4to., 2+20pp., 1641.

MR. GRIMSTONS *Speech in the High Court of Parliament* (9 November, 1640.) 4to., 2+16pp., 1641.

MASTER GRIMSTONS *Argument concerning Bishops, with* MR. SELDENS *Answer. Also several Orders newly made in Parliament concerning Church Government.* 4to., 8pp., 1641.

Two Speeches spoken in the house of the Lords, by the Lord VISCOUNT NEWARK. *The first concerning the right of Bishops to sit in Parliament, May 21, 1641. The Second about the lawfulnes and conveniency of their intermedling in Temporall affairs, May the 24th following.* 4to., 2+10pp., 1641.

The Speech of MASTER PLYDELL, *Esquire: Concerning the Church, Febr. 8. 1641.* 4to., 2+5pp., 1641.*

A Reply Made By Mr. THOMAS PYRY . . . *touching Episcopacy; and Deanes and Chapters; at a Committee of the whole House.* 4to., 2+9pp., 1641.*

The Speech or Declaration of JOHN PYMM, *Esqr., To the Lords of the upper House, upon the delivery of the Articles . . . against William Laud, &c.* 4to., 2+34pp., 1641.

A Speech Made Before The Lords . . By FRANCIS ROUS, *Esquire, March the 16th, 1640 (41) Against Dr. Cosens, Dr. Maynwaring, and Dr. Beale: Upon the Complaint of Mr. Peter Smart.* 4to., 2+6pp., 1641.

The Speeches of SR BENJAMIN RUDYER *in the high Court of Parliament.* 4to., 2+20pp., 1641.

Two Speeches of the Right Honovrable WILLIAM, LORD VISCOUNT SAY AND SEALE . . . *The first upon the Bill against Bishops. The other a Declaration of Himselfe touching the Liturgie.* 4to., 2+17pp., 1641.

A Speech of WILLIAM THOMAS *Esquire in Parliament. . . . Being a Short View and Examination of the Actions of Bishops in Parliament, from Anno Dom 1116, to this present of 1641.* 4to., 2+25pp., 1641.

SR. HENRY VANE *his Speech In the House of Commons, at a Committee for the Bill against Episcopall Government . . . June 11. 1641.* 4to., 2+9pp., 1641.

An honourable and learned speech made by MR. WALLER *in Parliament, against the prelates innovations, false doctrine and discipline, &c.* 4to., 1641. In the British Museum and Bodleian.†

A Speech made by MAST. WALLER *Esqr., in the House of Commons concerning Episcopacie, whether it should be committed or rejected.* 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.†

A Speech of Mr. John White . . . *Concerning Episcopacy. Printed by his own Copie with Additions.* 4to., 2+14pp., 1641.

Mr. Whites *Speech in Parliament On Munday, the 17th of January, Concerning The Triall of the XII. Bishops, An. Dom: 1641.* 4to., 2+5pp., n.d.

Speech of Sir T. Widdrington; *On the Impeachment of Bishop Wren, 20 July 1641.* 4to., 2+14pp., 1641. (With the Articles of Impeachment.)

[All the foregoing, except those indicated by †, are in the Congregational Library. The two speeches marked * are in favour of prelacy.]

Of the very numerous petitions to Parliament a considerable number were published as pamphlets or broadsheets, *e.g.* :—

The First and large Petition of the Citie of London, and other inhabitants thereabouts: for a Reformation in Church Government, as also for the Abolishment of Episcopacie &c. 4to., 16pp., 1641.

Three Petitions from Surrey and Middlesex, against Popish Lords and Bishops. 4to., 8pp., pp., 1641.

Unitie, Truth, and Reason. Presented in all Humilitie Petition-wise to Parliament . . . for the more happy and certaine reconciling of the Church differences. 4to., 2+14pp., 1641.

Petition of divers of the Clergy of the Church of England [for reformation of the Church.] 4to., 2+5pp., 1641.

The Remonstrance and Petition of the County of Huntingdon for the Continuance of the Church Government, and divine service, or Book of Common Prayer. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641.

To the High and Hon. Court of Parliament the Humble Petition of the University of Oxford, in behalfe of Episcopacy and Cathedrals &c. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641.

The Petition and Articles exhibited in Parliament against Dr. Heywood, late Chaplain to the Bp. of Canterburie, by the Parishioners of St. Giles in the Fields. 4to., 2+9pp., 1641.

Petition and Articles (etc) against John Pocklington D.D., Parson of Yelden, 4to., 2+34pp., 1641.

Petition from Inhabitants of the Parish of Leonards Shoreditch, against John Squire. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641.

Petition from William Castell, For Propagating the Gospel in America and the West Indies. 4to., 19pp., 1641.

[All the foregoing are in the Congregational Library.]

To the Right Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament; the humble Petition of some of the Parishioners in the Parish of Chigwell in the Co. of Essex, and divers others... as to an altar in their Church &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

A Petition Delivered in to the Lords Spiritual and Temporall, by Sir Thomas Ashton, Baronet, from the County Palatine of Chester, concerning Episcopacy &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

To the Hon. House of Commons now assembled in the High Court of Parliament The Most Humble Petition of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergie, and Commons within the County of Nottingham &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

To the Hon. Houses of Parliament now assembled: The humble Petition of Many of the Inhabitants within his Majestie's County of Kent.....As to Bishops Ceremonies &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Petition presented to the Parliament from the Co. of Nottingham, Complaining of grievances under the ecclesiastical government by Archbishops, bishops, &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

To the Hon. Assembly of the Commons, The Humble Petition of divers Knights, Gentlemen, Clergy, etc. of the Co. of Somerset &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

The Humble Petition of the Brownists. 4to., 10pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

The following public documents, issued in pamphlet form, demand notice :—

Articles exhibited in Parliament against Mr. John Squire, vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, 7th August, 1641. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library.

The Orders from the House of Commons for the Abolishing of Superstition and Innovation in the regulating of Church affairs. 1 Sept., 1641. 4to. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

An Order by the House of Commons for removing the Communion tables and rails from the east end of the Church; and that all crucifixes, pictures, &c. be abolished. Folio, 1641. In the Bodleian.

An Order No. 785 made by the House of Commons for the establishment of Preaching Lecturers throughout the Kingdom of England and Wales. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

[A little later was issued *An Order for the establishing of preeching lectures throughout the kingdom, with 35 considerations upon the Booke of Common Prayer &c.* 4to., 1642. In the Bodleian.]

A Copie of the Proceedings of some worthy and learned divines, appointed by the Lords to meet at the Bp. of Lincolnes in Westminster, touching Innovations in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. 4to., 12+96pp., two editions 1641, and reprint 1660. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library, etc.

A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom ; 15 Decr. 1641, and

The Petition of the House of Commons, presented to His Majestie with the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom. 4to., 2+5+2+30pp., 1641. Both in the Congregational and other libraries.

His Maiesties Speciall Command.....to the Lord Maior of...London, dated Decemb 4. 1641.....To suppress the Tumultuous and unlawful assemblies..... With a Relation of the Riotous assemblies, Mutinous Vproares, and disorders made and committed by a Company of

Brownists or Separatists &c. 8pp., 4to., 1641. In the British Museum.

The anonymous pamphlets issued during this first year of the Long Parliament — so far as they come within our compass— may for the most part be conveniently grouped as "Puritan" and "prelatist." Of the former class the most interesting are :—

A very lively portrayture of the Archbishops and Bs. of the Church of England; set forth in XX positions. 4to., 60pp., 1640. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Christ on His Throne; or Christs Church government briefly laid downe; and how it ought to bee set up in all Christian congregations, resolved in sundry cases of conscience. 4to., 12+78pp., 1640. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

The Brownists Faith and Beliefe Opened. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

Superstition revived, manifested in bowing towards the Altar &c. 4to., 1641. In Williams's Library.

A Divine Pater-Noster (by way of Reply to a Scandalous Ode, or Pamphlet made by a namelesse Author, who had more wit than honesty.) Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

A Reply, as true as Steele, to a foolish Pamphlet entitled, A Swarme of Sectaries &c. 4to., 1641. In the British Museum. Reprinted 1867 in Hazlitt's *Handy-Book to the Literature of Great Britain.*

The Wrens Nest Defil'd, or Bishop Wren Anatomized.....With a true relation of his persecuting of godly preaching Ministers. 4to., 8pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Certificate from Northamptonshire: (1) Of the pluralites; (2) Defect of Maintenance; (3) Of not Preaching: (4) Of Scandalous Ministers &c. 4to., 2+20 pp., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Triple Episcopacie: or a threefold Order of Bishops; one of God, another of Men, and another of the Diuell &c. 4to., 14pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

The opinions and directions of a worthy Divine presented to Parliament concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal government. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

The Abolishing of the Booke of Com. Prayer by reason of above fifty grosse Corruptions in it, well worthy of the consideration of Parliament. 4to., 14pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Reasons why the Hierarchy or Government of the Church by Arch-Bps., L. Bps., Deanes, ArchDeacons, Chancelors and their officers, &c., may and ought to be Removed. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

The true Character of an untrue Bishop, with a recipe how to recover a Bishop if hee were lost etc. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum. (Reprinted in *Phoenix Britanicus.*)

The Anatomy of the Service Book, dedicated to the High court of Parliament, wherein is remonstrated the unlawfulness of it, and that by

five severall arguments. 4to., 6+102pp., 1641. At least three editions were issued in 1642, with addition to the title *By Dwalphintramis.* Reprinted 1661. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Libraries. The author is supposed to be John Barnard, son of Richard Barnard of Batcombe. He was also the author of *A Short View of the Praelaticall Church of England,* wrongly ascribed to his father in *Transactions No. III.*, p. 177.

Englands rejoicing at the prelates downfall; or Gods goodness and mercy to England in delivering them from the cruel tyranny of bloodthirsty prelates. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

The Beauty of Godly government in a Church reformed; or a Platforme of government consonant to the Word of Truth and the purest Reformed Churches. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

A discoverie of new light; or Ancient Truthes revived; containing principles and inferences of a Church way. 8vo., 1641. In the Bodleian.

An Answer to the Petition sent from the Universitie of Oxford to the Hon. Court of Parliament etc. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Light for the ignorant; or a treatise shewing that in the New Testament is set forth 3 Kinglie States or governments.....Whereto is added a true definition of a visible Church. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

A Decade of Grievances Presented and approved to the.....Parliament against the Hierarchy &c. (Sub-title, *Sions Plea against the Prelacy.*) 4to., 8pp., 1641. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

A Worke for the Wisely Considerate, in three distinct Parts.....(1) A primary truth that Elders were the only Bps. for the first one hundred years after Christ; (2) An undoubted position concerning worship etc; (3) Certain propositions concerning Separation. 4to., 2+38pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Reformation no Enemie, or a discourse between the bishops and the desirers of Reformation. A reprint of Marprelate's *Hay any Worke for Cooper.* 4to., 10+49pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

An Anti-Remonstrance to the late Humble Remonstrance [*i.e.* that of Bp. Jos. Hall.] 4to., 9pp., in the Bodleian and British Museum.

Certain Reasons tending to prove the unlawfulnesse and inexpediencie of all Diocesan Episcopacy &c. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

The Equality of the Ministry plainly described both by scriptures, fathers, and councels. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Cheapside Crosse censured and condemned by a letter sent from the Vice Chancellour.....of Oxford &c. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

All the following are in the Congregational Library :—

Vox Populi, expressed in xxxv motions to this present Parliament.....

for Reforming the present Corrupt State of the Church. 4to., 2+10pp., 1641.

Good Workes, if they be well handled; or certain projects about Maintenance for Parochial Ministers. 4to., 5+10pp., 1641.

Regulated Zeal; a Request to seek the desired Reformation in a peaceable Way. 4to., 8pp., 1641.

The Question Concerning The Divine Right of Episcopacie briefly stated. Signed H.P. 4to., 2+12pp., 1641.

The Petition for the Prelates briefly examined. 4to., 4+40pp., 1641.

An Appeal of the Orthodox Ministers of the Church of England against (Bp.) *Richard Mountague.* 4to., 2+37pp., 1641.

The Somerset Petition, with an Answer In Defence of the Parliament Against the said Petition And all others of that malignant and dangerous Nature. 4to., 2+18pp., 1642.

Certain Considerations wherein the Prelates do Acknowledge that they stand by the meer mercy of the King and Parliament. 4to., 8pp., 1641 (?).

A briefe but true historicall Narration of some notorious Acts and Speeches of Mr. John Cosens. 4to., 8pp. Prefixed to a Sermon on Psa. xxxi., 7.

A Pack of Puritans, maintayning the Vnlawfulnesse, or Vnexpediencie or both, of Pluralities.....Sole Ordinations.....etc: As also a defence of the authority of Princes and Parliaments to intermeddle with matters of Religion. 4to., 6+56pp., 1641. In the British Museum and Congregational Library. Reprinted 1650.

The True Grounds of Ecclesiastical Regimen set forth in a briefe Dissertation &c. 4to., 2+99pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library; as are all the following:—

The Downfall of the Pretended Divine Authority of the Hierarchy into the Sea of Rome. By V.N.V. 4to., 8+36pp., 1641.

An Appeale to Every Impartiall, Iudicious, and Godly Reader, whether the Presbyterie or Prelacie be the better Church-government. 4to., 2+13pp., 1641.

Prelacie is Miserie &c. 4to., 2+10pp., 1641.

The Prelates Pride, &c. 4to., 6+22pp., 1641.

The Bishops Manifest; or A Comparative Relation of Conformitie of the English Prelates to those treacherons and deceitful ones in Reign of King Hen. the eighth. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641.

A Christal for the Clergie. 4to., 8pp., 1641.

The Presbyterian Government Examined. 4to., 2+38pp., 1641. This is aggressively Independent, and is replied to in

A Postscript in answer to a Treatise very lately published, which is intituled The Presbyterial Government Examined. 4to., 40pp., 1641 (?.)

The following are anti-prelatic satires and lampoons:—

Vox Borealis, or the Northern Discoverie; by way of Dialogue between Jamie and Willie.....Printed by Margery Mar-Prelat, in Thwack-Coat Lane. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Re-

issued the following year as *A Second Discovery by the Northern Scout &c.* In the Bodleian ; and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany.*

The Lineage of Locusts, or the Popes Pedigree. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum. Adapted from A. GILBY'S *View of Antichrist,* 1570.

The Popes Proclamation ; whereto is added six articles against Cheapside Cross. 4to., 7+ pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library, as are also the five next following :—

A Charitable Churchwarden, or a Hypocrite Anatomized. 4to., 8pp., 1641.

The Churchwardens Repentance. 4to., 2+6pp., 1641.

Lambeth Fair, wherein you have all the Bishops Trinkets set to Sale. 4to., 11pp., 1641.

Mercuries Message ; or the copy of a Letter sent to Wm Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury. 4to., 8pp., 1641.

Rome for Canterbury : Or a true Relation of the Birth, and Life, of William Laud &c. 4to., 8pp., 1641.

Canterburie Pilgrimage ; in the testimony of an accused Conscience for the blood of Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, and Doctor Bastwicke. 4to., 8pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

The Bishops Potion ; or a Dialogue, between the Bishop of Canterbury and his Physician &c. 4to., 6pp., 1641. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany.*

The Curates Conference : or a Discourse betwixt two Scholars &c. 4to., 14pp., 1641. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany.*

Romes Eccho, or a Dialogue Betwixt a Papist and a Protestant : with an Admonition to our Lordly Bishops. In rhyme. 4to., 4+8pp., 1641. In the Congregational Library.

Meanwhile pamphleteers on the other side were not idle. The following are the most noteworthy of the prelatist tracts which were published anonymously :—

A Divine Oade ; an Exposition of the Brownists' Pater-Noster. Broadsheet, two issues, n.d. and 1641. Both in the British Museum.

The Brownists Conventicle : or an Assembly of Brownists, Separatists, and Non-Conformists, as they met together at a private house to heare a Sermon of a brother of theirs neere Algate, being a learned Fell-maker. His auditors were Button-makers, Translaters, Weavers, Box-makers, with divers other holy Brethren and Sisters &c. 4to., 8pp., n.pl., 1641.

The Brownists Synagovge..... With a Relation of the Names, places, and Doctrines of those which doe commonly Preach. The chiefe of these, Greene the Felt-maker ; Marler, the Button-maker : Spencer, the Coachman ; Rogers, the Glover. Which Sect is much increased of late within this city. 4to., 8pp., n.pl., 1641.

The Brothers of the Separation. Or a true Relation of a Company of Brownists which kept their Conventicle at one Mr. Porters in Goat Alley in Whitecrosse-street, where they were apprehended on Sunday. Aug 14,

1641. As also a Sermon preached afterwards in the same house by John Rogers, a Glover. 4to., 8pp., n.pl., 1641.

The Discovery of a Swarme of Separatists, or, a Leather-sellers Sermon. Being a most true and exact Relation of the tumultuous Combustion in Fleet Street last Sabbath day being the 19 of Decem. truly describing how Burboon a Letherseller had a Conventicle of Brownists met at his house that day about the number of a hundred and fifty, who preached there himselfe about five houres in the afternoone..... With another Relation of a Sermon, that Prophet Hunt preached in St. Pulchers Church the same day aforesaid. 4to., 8pp., 1641.

A Word to Fanatics, Puritans and Sectaries, Green the Felt-maker, Spencer the Horse-rubber, and a few others &c. [with notice of *the preachment and pratings of Barbones the Leather-seller.*] 4to., 1641. Reprinted 8vo., 1821.

All these five are in the British Museum; the first and second also in the Bodleian.

An Answer to an impertinent pamphlet lately set forth by John Spencer, wherein is refuted the arguments brought &c. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

The Book of Common Prayer now used in the Church of England, vindicated from the Aspersions of all Schismatiques, Anabaptists, Brownists and Separatists. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

An Apology for Bishops, or a plea for learning against those lying, rayling and scandalous libels so frequent in despight of learning and learned men. 4to., 6pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

The judgment of Dr. Reignolds concerning Episcopacy, whether it be Gods ordinance, in a letter to Sir F. Knowles, concerning Dr. Bancrofts Sermon. 4to., 1641, two editions. One in the British Museum, both in the Bodleian.

Certain Briefe Treatises written by Divers Learned men concerning the Ancient and Modern government of the Churche &c. 4to., 6+176pp., 1641. In the Bodleian.

The Brownist haeresies confuted, their knavery anatomized, and their fleshly spirits painted at full; with an account of a barber preacher &c. Other copies of the same tract have this title:—*A Description of the Sect called the Familie of Love &c.* 4to., 1641. Copies with both titles are in the Bodleian.

God's government of his church, and the deputation thereof to men, &c. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and Congregational Libraries.

A Defensive Vindication of the publike Liturgie, established ceremonies, and settled featnres of the Church of England. 4to., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Episcopal Government instituted by Christ, and confirmed by cleere evidence of Scripture, and invincible reason. Signed *R.R.* 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Confutation of Mr. L[ewes] *H*[ewes] *his Dialogue; or an answer to a dialogue or conference betweene a County Gentleman and a Minister of Gods Word, about the Booke of Common Prayer.* 4to., 12pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

An Answer to the new motions; or a serious and briefe discussion of certaine motions now in question. 4to., 1641. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

A Dialogue betwixt three travellers .... Crucy Cringe, a Papist; Accepted Weighall, a professour of the Church of England: and Factious Wrest-writ, a Brownist &c. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

A Whip for the Back of a Backsliding Brownist. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

Some of the foregoing are—by their titles—probably satirical; the following are certainly of that character :—

The Lofty Bishop, the Lazy Brownist, and the Loyal Author. Broadsheet, 1641.

The Dolefull Lamentation of Cheap-side Crosse, or Old England sick of the Staggers, the sundry sorts of Sects now raving and raging &c. 4to., 1641. Both in the British Museum; the latter also in the Bodleian.

The following are in the Congregational Library :—

A Discourse of Sacrilege. 4to., 2+26pp., 1641.

A Wise and Moderate Discourse concerning Church Affairs. 4to., 2+47pp., 1641.

The Way toward the finding of a Decision of the Chief Controversie now debated concerning Church Government. 4to., 2+42pp., 1641.

A Modest Advertisement concerning the Present Controversie. 4to., 2+20pp., 1641.

A Summarie View of the Government both of the Old and New Testament. 4to., 2+176pp., 1641.

A Short Treatise of Archbishops and Bishops. 4to., 2+22pp., 1641.

Certaine Reasons Why the Booke of Common-Prayer Being Corrected should Continue. By I.W. 4to., 4+14pp., 1641.

An Answer to a Lawless Pamphlet entituled The Petition and Articles exhibited in Parliament against Doctor Haywood &c. 4to., 2+21pp., 1641.

A Vindication of the Bishop of Durham from the Calumnies of a... ...libel entituled The Downfall of Hierarchie. 4to., 2+19pp., 1641.

We may here notice a small group of anonymous tracts on Popery and Protestantism.

The Heads of Reasons for which a generall Councell of Protestants ought to be called together in England. 4to., 2+20pp., 1641.

Certaine Modest Observations and Considerations of the true Protestants of the Church of England, for their right choyce of Church Governours and Church ceremonies &c. 4to., 1641. Both these in the Bodleian and British Museum.

A True Copie of the Disputation held betweene Master Walker and a Jesuite.....concerning The Ecclesiasticall Function. 4to., 8pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

A Dialogue or Discourse between a Parliament man and a Roman Catholick, touching the present state of Recusants in England. 4to., 1641. In the Bodleian.

The next should be examined, as its title is ambiguous.

A Good Wish for England, or Englands "Lord Deliver us," &c. Broadsheet, 1641. In the British Museum.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Death and Burial of Robert Browne.—In the introduction to his *Treatise of Reformation* in the *Transactions*, *No. II.*, p. 121, it is stated that Browne "never left the jail, but died there at some uncertain date before November, 1633. The place of his burial is doubtful," etc.

The long uncertainty is now set at rest, and the traditional "uninscribed stone" at Achurch finally disposed of, by the following communication from one of our members to the Secretary :—

> I have, after a good deal of delay, obtained a copy of the entry in the parish register of St. Giles, Northampton. It is contained in the first existing volume, beginning with 1559, and is of course under date 1633 :—"Mr. Browne, Parson of Achurch, was buryed the viii. of October."
>
> H. N. Dixon.
>
> Wickham House,
> Northampton.
> 3 *Feby*, *1904*.

A suggestion lately made by the vicar of St. Giles, that the fact of Browne's interment there should be commemorated by a brass in the church, deserves sympathetic consideration.

Dexter (p. 122, n.) says of the scene of Browne's ministrations at Achurch, "With the exception of the transept, which was added in 1862, when the whole was restored, the edifice is without doubt substantially the same as in Browne's time." A very different account is given by Rev. F. I. Cater of Oundle, who, in reply to enquiry, writes as follows :—

> The only print of the church before it was restored in 1862 is that which appears in Brandon's *Parish Churches*, published by Bell in 1848. It is a very good picture, but shews only the tower and spire, which remain practically untouched by the wretched restoration. By this restoration the main portion of the church passed almost beyond recognition. A new and unnecessary north aisle was built, destroying the north wall ; a new and trumpery porch was added ; all the windows but two were destroyed and poor ones substituted. There is an interesting doorway left untouched, also one ancient window in the south transept.

*

Adverting to the note on p. 336, *Transactions*, *No. V.*, Mr. W. Tuck of Bath, writes :—

> It is a mistake to say that the sermon by Rev. T. East, which led to the conversion of John Williams, was preached at Frome ; it

should have been the Tabernacle, London. . . . Mr. East was a native of Frome, and before he became pastor of Rook Lane chapel was in business as a tinman. A *jeu d'esprit* was current in Frome as follows :—

"When Tim was a tinker he worked upon tin,
But now he's a parson he works upon sin ;
In all his loud reasonings as brittle as glass,
He has left all the tin and keeps all the brass."

Another error which it may be worth while to correct is (p. 338) that Rev. R. A. Vaughan was "lately co-pastor with Rev. W. Jay at Bath." He was not co-pastor but assistant minister ; and the reason why he left Bath was that Mr. Jay would not consent to his being co-pastor.

*

Information is desired respecting a chapel—of what denomination is unknown to the enquirer—which stood in Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. One Griffith Williams ministered there from 1790 to 1826. The chapel existed until about 1840.

W. H. Roberts.

*

The hymn, "The righteous souls that take their flight," etc., 166 in Boden, is by George Hay Drummond, an episcopal clergyman. It first appeared with music in E. Miller's *Psalms of David for the use of Parish Churches*, 1790.

W.T.B.

*

J. Watkinson, Esq., The Quinton, Queen's Gardens, Herne Bay writes as follows :—

At the present time it has occurred to me that the history of the Congregational churches of our county might with advantage engage the thought and research of some of the members of the Congregational Historical Society. For several years I have been collecting material for such a history of the churches in Kent, having in view the revision and bringing up to date the *Church History of Kent*, which was published by Rev. T. Simpson nearly fifty years since. I should be glad to get into touch with any who may have in their possession views, portraits, or matter of interest connected with any of the Kentish churches. Possibly some readers of the *Transactions* may have that which they would sell, lend, or exchange for similar matter in relation to other counties. From any so minded I should be greatly pleased to hear.

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